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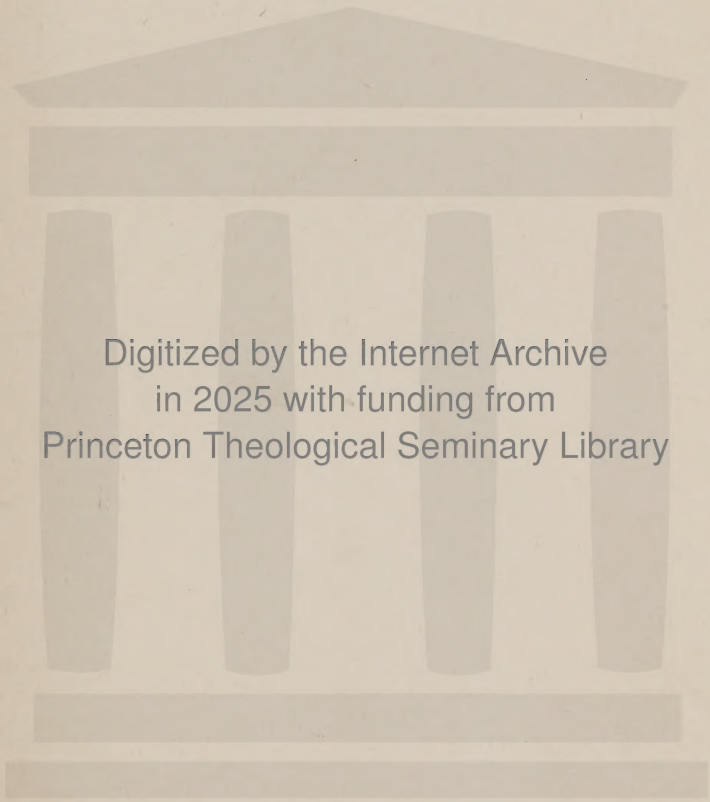
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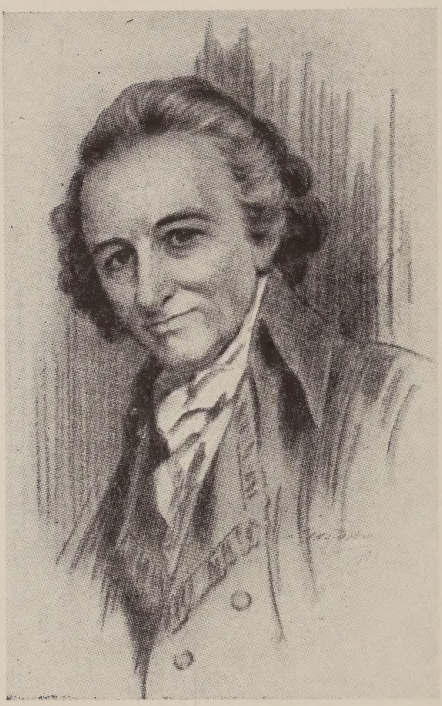

THOMAS PAINE

Born Jan. 29, 1737 Died June 8, 1803

THOMAS PAINE

AMERICA'S FIRST LIBERAL

By

S. M. BERTHOLD

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FOREWORD

What is the queer quirk in man's make-up which permits him to honor, respect, and even revere the names of destroyers?

The builders of the Great Wall of China, the Taj Mahal of India, the Colosseum of Italy, the Pantheon of Rome, or the great bridges and tunnels of the present age, are generally unknown.

Alexander, Cæsar, Attila, Genghis Khan, Charlemagne, Napoleon—all these who, with the aid of drum fire and trumpets and over the dead bodies of others, gained the heights of fame and power, are well known from school days. The records of tyrants like Nero, Ivan, Torquemada, Robespierre and Marat fill pages of history; but what space is reserved for the Howards, the Wilberforces, the Pinels, the Zengers, the Lovejoys who labored and fought overwhelming opposition for others?

Too often the names of those who have not killed their fellows or added to the common distress but served only in causes of enlightenment and freedom have been far eclipsed by others less worthy.

It has remained for America to inspire a new tradition in human relationships, a leadership based not on conquest or hope for personal gain, but upon humanity.

Most fortunate has she been, in being able to call, from her very inception, upon outstanding leaders in her great crises.

The scholarly Jefferson penned the immortal Declaration of Independence; Madison and his associates, discarding all the outmoded forms of European government, framed a constitution still the admiration

of students; Washington having dedicated himself to the founding of a republic, declined a crown; Franklin possessing one of the most able and versatile minds of all time, unselfishly lent his aid. Lincoln guided the country through his troubled times with such consumate skill and patience that the warring factions are united and in inseparable bonds.

Today the whole nation is hoping that once again America's good fortune will not fail her, and our president be able to navigate the country successfully through its present crisis.

Few Benedict Arnolds have darkened America's history and she has reason to be proud of her public men.

Brilliant and inspiring as is America's record, certain of her citizens have at various times and for diverse reasons participated in campaigns against one who played a leading role in her fight for freedom. Their efforts have prevented him from occupying the exalted position his unique and extraordinary services so richly deserve.

Thomas Paine is probably the least known of the great men through whose aid and devotion the new nation came into being. Only now, after a lapse of over a hundred years, is his name emerging from the eclipse created by hostile critics and calumniators. Fortune fated him either to bask in the sun of public acclaim and adoration, or to languish in the deep night of obloquy and execration.

An intimate of Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, Samuel Adams, Monroe; personally known and respected by Goldsmith, Burke, Fox, Priestly, Chatham, and Wilkes; close associate of Lafayette, Brissot, and Condorcet; a confidant of Robespierre, Marat, Danton before the Reign of Terror; and later consulted and praised by Napoleon.

What a galaxy of names! Never perhaps in all

history has one man ever enjoyed the friendship and esteem of such a roster.

No monument marks Paine's resting place; none can do him homage at his grave. His body was stolen and his bones scattered.

But he lives still in the hearts of all who love their fellowmen.

THOMAS PAINE
AMERICA'S FIRST LIBERAL

THOMAS PAINE

CHAPTER I

Thirty Seven Years of Failures

Had anyone visited Thetford in Norfolkshire, England, two hundred years ago and returned there today he undoubtedly would find much unchanged. It has grown from a small village of two thousand souls to its present five thousand. Aside from a roof-tile repaired or a doorstep replaced, the outside appearance of many of the homes remains unchanged.

Inside, certain concessions for comfort would be found, the old lamps and candles giving place to electricity, and here and there central heating for the ancient grates.

The old streets are just as narrow and the cobbles, worn a bit more round, as irregular as ever; the limpid Little Ouse still bisects this typical East country rustic village; and there in White Hart Street lived the Pain family—for that was the way it was then spelt.

Little did his neighbors or, for that matter, the world at large suspect that the child Thomas Pain, born January 29, 1737, was destined to be one of the chief actors in bringing to pass what has been called "the greatest fact of modern times"—the American Revolution.

Nothing about his parents or ancestry was indicative of his future. His father, Joseph, came of good Norfolkshire farmer stock, thrifty and well regarded. He appears to have been a mild mannered Quaker, with

well grounded principles of honesty. The mother, Frances Cocke, was more assertive and, like her husband, came from a well reputed local family. Her father was an attorney. A pleader at the bar in those days was generally, aside from his superior education, a man of considerable standing in the community. Mention of his parent's family background is made to offset any impression that might exist that Paine stemmed from common vulgar stock.

According to the records in the small church at Euston Parish, his mother, a member of the Church of England, had the infant baptized there.

Although his grandfather had been a farmer, Thomas's father, except in a small way to help eke out a living for the family, did not follow that calling. For the greatest part of his time he was engaged in the manufacture of stays. Regardless of how diligently Joseph Pain applied himself, the family always remained poor.

The only schooling Thomas obtained was at the Thetford Grammar School. On his daily attendance the child was obliged to pass the local gaol, outside of which, open to public view, could be seen the stocks and pillory and, when occasion demanded its not infrequent use, the gallows likewise.

The dispensing of justice in England in the first half of the 18th Century was a strange mixture of extreme severity reminiscent of darker ages and an attempt at a strict administration of impartial fairness. Jail keepers wrung confessions from the inmates with the aid of the whip or other persuasive means. From the nearby prison the shrieks and cries of the injured, the oaths and curses of the more hardened, often assailed the ears of young Paine and the other pupils at their lessons.

Paine early exhibited the sensitive nature that caused him in after life to come so often to the aid of the

oppressed. The savagery of the jailers and the horror of public hangings burnt into the very soul of the impressionable child. Here without doubt was laid the foundation for his opposition in later life to capital punishment.

Moderns can scarcely realize the primitive brutality of justice as then practiced. Animated by the false philosophy that people could be made good by laws, together with an almost unbelievable contempt for human life, England had built its penal system on capital junishment. According to Blackstone, there were at one time over two hundred and forty crimes listed, carrying a penalty of death. Four-fifths of these had been put on the books by the first three Georges and had been added to at the rate of five new ones annually.

Most of the crimes listed would today be classed as trivial or, at their worst, minor infractions. Stealing from a dwelling to the amount of forty shillings, or theft from a shop, of goods to the value of only five shillings, called for a death sentence. Counterfeiting the stamps that were to be used on perfumery or those to be affixed to hair powder earned a similar punishment. Stealing, hamstringing of sheep was condemned with the same severity as murdering a human being. Treason has ever been regarded as a capital crime, but during this period, treason was legally defined as imagining the King's death. So, contrary to the adage, they could hang a man for what he thought. During the reign of Henry VIII, the royal Bluebeard, 72,000 men and women who unlawfully left their homes to seek work elsewhere were hanged for vagabondage or for being guilty of the heinous crime of poverty.

Truly these Draconian laws were written in blood.

It is almost inconceivable that anyone, even a child could live in a world like that and not be affected.

Joseph Pain never found the business of making

corsets too lucrative, and the times being what they were, the education of his son depended on the strength of the family exchequer.

At school Thomas studied the rudiments of mathematics, reading, and writing. Modern contemporary language did not appeal to him and Latin was barred from his studies, not because it was old or dead, but because his Quaker family did not think the works written in that ancient tongue were worthy of study. Paine confessed a distinct leaning toward scientific subjects, an inclination borne out subsequently by some of his later achievements.

Just how much of an opportunity was offered the young student to study science can be surmised when, as he himself relates, he was obliged to stop schooling at thirteen and assist his father in making stays.

It is interesting to note that although Thomas was baptized in the Church of England, it was his father, a Quaker, who maintained a strong religious influence over him. In his AGE OF REASON Paine relates, "My father being of the Quaker profession, it was my good fortune to have an exceeding good moral education and a tolerable stock of useful learning." There does not seem to be any doubt, but that Paine received from his father a moral sense that was well grounded, and fortified him in his subsequent quests for justice.

While at school he had been taught by a Master Knowles. He had been formerly a chaplain on board a royal man-o-war and portrayed the life of a sailor to his pupils in a romantic and glamorous fashion. Later, while working at his bench, the youth could not help but make comparisons between the free open life of the sailor with the staid humdrum one of a stay maker. Finally unknown to his father and undaunted by the ominous name of its commander Captain Death, the youth shipped on board the privateer Terrible.

His father learning of his plan, hastened after him and had the good fortune of reaching Paine before the vessel put to sea. Acceeding to the parental entreaties he gave up the idea of being a member of the crew and returned home.

Lucky beyond expression was the venturesome lad, for the TERRIBLE on her next cruise, fell in with the VENGEANCE and was vanquished. Captain Death was killed, together with one hundred and seventy-five of the crew. The remainder were wounded.

Paine in his RIGHTS OF MAN gives his own version of this near adventure.

"Raw and adventurous, and heated with the false heroism of a master who had served in a man-o-war, I became the carver of my own fortune, and entered on board the TERRIBLE, privateer, Captain Death. From this adventure I was happily prevented by the affectionate and moral remonstrance of a good father. Who from his own habits of life being of the Quaker profession must begin to look upon me as lost."

During Paine's tempestuous career, he had at least four very close calls from death! While carrying messages in an open boat under the British guns at Fort Moultrie; when listed for the guillotine; his narrow escape from assassination; and this voyage of the TERRIBLE.

One cannot help but note that the God whose Word Paine's critics regard him as denouncing seemed to have extended a protecting mantle over this "infidel".

The call of the sea, however, was not to be so easily stilled. In 1756, when war was declared against France, Paine signed up with Captain Mendez on the privateer KING OF PRUSSIA. The brutality and rough treatment, then the common lot of sailors before the mast, must have cured him forever of a desire for a life at sea. He never expressed a desire to re-enlist.

Once having cut the home ties, and been initiated

into the world outside, he was reluctant to return. When his period of enlistment expired, he settled in London and took up his old trade of stay maker. The wanderlust had entered his spirit for he only remained there a short time and soon turned up at Dover. Here he stayed for a year. Then he moved to Sandwich, in Kent, and established himself as a master corset maker at the age of twenty-two. While a resident of this village he married Mary Lambert and soon moved on to Margate. There, at her death the following year, he experienced his first real sorrow.

His business did not prosper. That his father-in-law was an exciseman probably suggested to Paine the advisability of taking up that calling. The necessary course of study to qualify was not difficult and he received his appointment December 1, 1764.

The pay was short and the hours long. So extended was his route that he was obliged to make it on horseback. Even in those days the pay of five dollars a week was not large, since out of this pittance had to come the keep of the horse. Paine soon found that his colleagues in the service were in the habit, when overburdened, of stamping—issuing certificates of examination not actually made.

The offense was common. Paine, however, made the unpardonable error of being caught. He was discharged.

His staunchest supporters must here concede that he was guilty of a lapse; that while it can be condoned under the existing circumstances, in view of his oath of office it cannot be pardoned or entirely ignored.

The practice, nevertheless, was so common that the authorities did not hold it a sufficient bar to further service. Sometime in 1766, on applying for reinstatement, his petition was favorably acted on. No vacancy being open in territory paying something like a living wage, Paine resolved to wait until a suitable one was

available. With adequate pay the temptation to overcertify would be removed.

While waiting for an acceptable appointment, he supported himself by acting as an usher in a school at Goodman's Field, conducted by a Mr. Noble, and later served in a similar capacity to a Mr. Gardner at his school in Kensington.

Curiously enough, Paine at this period also undertook to become a dissenting preacher. What he discoursed on can best be left to the imagination: probably a better description of him would be a disturbing, rather than a dissenting minister.

Paine was compelled to wait for over a year before he received his appointment of exciseman at Lewes, Sussex. There he took up his residence with a Quaker family consisting of Samuel Olliver, his wife and Elizabeth, a daughter. About a year later Mr. Olliver died leaving his small tobacco business to his wife and Elizabeth.

Two years after her father's death, Elizabeth married Paine. He continued in the service and also ran the tobacco business of his wife and mother-in-law.

The excisemen were still being underpaid. Coming daily in contact with brew-masters, tavern keepers, and smugglers, they were constantly being subjected to the temptation of bribery, the acceptance of which would lead to their discharge. The loss of position and stoppage of pay, meager as it was would result in a real hardship for the ousted excisemen. The only way the salaries though could be increased was through an act of Parliament. In that body the officers had no champion. Without someone to espouse their cause, any hope for an increase of pay was futile.

No one knew better than Paine the temptations and pitfalls of the overworked and underpaid excisemen. He had a fine conception of their problem and his

associates were fortunate in recognizing Paine's genius for clear and concise expression.

At their request he wrote his first pamphlet. It appeared in 1772, and bore the title "The Case of the Officers of Excise". Paine had it printed and took four thousand copies with him for distribution when he went to London. There he had hopes of bringing it to the attention of members of Parliament and so secure some amelioration of their working conditions as well as an increase in pay.

While in London on this mission, Paine sent one of his pamphlets to Oliver Goldsmith. In the accompanying letter the exciseman-author stated, rather naively, that the pamphlet had received much approbation elsewhere, and begged leave for permission to confer personally with the celebrated poet. Probably there was something appealing in the frankness of the young man from the country, coupled with his desire of obtaining an increase of wage, that struck a responsive cord in Goldsmith, especially since poverty had not been unknown to him in his youth.

This meeting resulted in their becoming fast friends and they remained so until the poet's death about a year later.

Although Paine spent the winter of 1772-1773 in London, he was unsuccessful in his appeal to the government. The failure was due not to lack of clarity of argument or any effort of Paine. At that time the government would probably not have listened to anyone with a plea for increase of wages: it needed for its own use all the money on which it could lay hands. Paine was discouraged at so much wasted effort and returned to Lewes dejected and chagrined.

While at London his affairs at home had not prospered: on his return, he found himself heavily in debt and trade at the little shop practically vanished.

To be in debt in those days was a serious offense,

and imprisonment almost a certainty. Not wishing to lose his liberty as well as his goods, Paine left Lewes for a short time to arrange to turn over to his creditors all of his property to avoid prison.

The average exciseman felt he had performed his duty when he had collected the tax assessed. What theory of government lay back of this levy never would occur to him. In fact, even if he had the mental ability to grasp the problem, it is a question whether he would have tried. Even at this early stage Paine saw in taxation something more than pounds and shillings. In making his rounds, he had noted, and expressed himself accordingly; that while England collected taxes from her Jewish tax payers, they were not permitted suffrage. Not being Christians, it was assumed that they lacked either the mental or moral equipment to pass on questions of state, a privilege reserved for church members.

With this injustice still in mind, Paine likewise called attention to the fact that Christianity was founded on the Judaic law and that the reputed inspirer of that faith was a Jew; that His mother was a Jewess; and that to deprive Jews of the rights of full citizenship solely because they happened not to hold the same view of Jesus that others did, was a perversion of the "natural rights of man".

This phrase, "natural rights of man," gave offense to a certain clergyman in Thetford, who took the stand that man had *no innate rights,* only privileges, and that *all the rights* he had were those granted by the Crown.

Such divergent views led to arguments, disputes, and debates at the coffee houses. Paine had his adherents and the minister was not lacking in his. So acrimonious did the discussion become that disorder resulted. Paine's superiors then ordered him "to cease all religious and political controversy on penalty".

Many have dammed a running brook but none has

stopped one. Paine smarted under the rebuke but could not be silenced so easily. He made speeches defending his position. This the excise commission regarded as violating their warning. The penalty was dismissal and although he referred the board to his record for honesty of service, he was the next week charged with smuggling. This accusation was not made in good faith for it was never pressed. His name was dropped as the authorities did not feel obligated to continue in the service one so out of sympathy with the principles of the government. His absence in London also gave his superiors the opportunity they were seeking, to dismiss so agressive and active an agitator.

In following the course they did, the commissioners felt they had at least two reasons for ridding themselves of this radical. While they could not sustain the smuggling charge, they were on safer ground when they used his absence and debts as the basis for their decision.

His order of discharge is here quoted:

"Friday 8th of April, 1774 Thomas Paine Officer of Lewes 4th O. Ride Sussex Collection having quitted his Business, without obtaining the Board's Leave for so doing, and being gone off on Account of the Debts which he hath contracted, as by Letter of the 6th instant from Edward Clifford, Supervisor, and the said Paine have been once before discharged, Ordered that he be again discharged."

All that Paine now had to show for his willingness to help his fellow excisemen and a desire to express a personal opinion, was the loss not only of his position but all of his worldly goods to boot.

Dark as this situation was, it became worse, for within two months after Paine turned over his property to his creditors, he and his wife formally separated. There was no divorce or court order. The reason

for the parting is clouded in mystery. At one time his intimate friend and associate, Clio Rickman, asked Paine about the cause of the separation. Paine, somewhat nettled, replied, "It is nobody's business but my own. I had cause for it but I will name it to no one." What the reason was no one knows. Since the honor or good name of neither Paine nor his wife is involved, and as both desired to retain their secret, speculation as to the cause is futile.

Elizabeth Paine never sought a divorce and died in 1808.

According to Rickman, Paine always spoke tenderly and respectfully of his wife, and often sent money (although not legally obliged to do so), even at times when he was himself sorely in need of funds.

On separating from his wife Paine returned to London and renewed his friendship with Dr. Goldsmith. Here also, he became acquainted with Benjamn Franklin, who, while staying in London as commissioner of the colonies, was continuing some of his experiments with electricity. It is not quite clear whether it was these scientific investigations, or mutual friends who brought Paine and Franklin together. There is reason to believe, however, that the meeting was effected by George Lewis Scott, a member of the excise board whom Paine held in high regard.

The former exciseman was now thirty-seven years and, as Dante said, "half the journey of life was done." He was practically penniless and without prospects. Still Paine seemed to have impressed the genial old philosopher, and a genuine friendship, despite their difference in ages (Franklin was then sixty-eight), developed which lasted until the latter's death.

Although denied advantages of early training for the drawing-room Paine possessed a certain natural charm of manner. He was neither bold nor given to ostentation. He conducted himself with restraint and

decorum. He was of average height and medium weight, his nose thin and prominent. His exceptionally brilliant dark eyes gave notice of the intellect behind them. Many, in referring to Paine's personal appearance, have left records of the impression made by his piercing eyes.

While among friends or intimates his conversation was lively, and he often drew on anecdotes to drive home a point. In mixed company or with strangers he was retiring, even shy, rarely taking part in the discussions or talks. Paine, always a seeker of knowledge, seemed to feel that more could be learned from listening than talking.

He retained his fondness for horseback riding (originating probably from his exciseman's days) as long as his health permitted. He was also known as an ardent pedestrian and a keen enthusiast of ice skating.

Games of chess and domino were the only indoor diversions, aside from his newspapers, that had any appeal for him. Cards and other games of chance held no attraction, a feeling that can be directly traced to his Quaker father's early training.

Although a shrewd dialectician he never became a finished public speaker. Of the amenities of style or fashion he had little regard, expressing himself once that "let those dress who need it".

Franklin strongly urged Paine to migrate to America. He saw in the young man the type he felt the colonies could well use; a shrewd thinker and one who could likewise express himself clearly and forcibly. Although Paine's parents were alive he felt, since the separation from his wife, that no bonds existed to hold him in England, and Britain certainly had nothing to offer comparable with the picture, painted by Franklin, of the new world across the sea.

In his RIGHTS OF MAN, written many years later, Paine confessed, "I happened when a school boy to

pick up a pleasing natural history of Virginia, and my inclination from that day of seeing the Western side of the Atlantic never left me." Franklin's invitation was merely the completion of a longing cherished by Paine from boyhood.

Not only did Franklin recommend and urge Paine to go to America but assisted him to the extent of supplying a letter of introduction to his son-in-law, Richard Bach.

Franklin was at this time in London engaged principally in trying to effect a peaceful solution of the difficulties between Great Britain and the Colonies. Nothing was more remote from his mind than separation or independence. All of his labors were directed toward conciliation and an amicable adjustment. Ironically enough, the peace-minded doctor was instrumental in bringing to America the man who was destined to undo all his sponsor's effort for a harmonious settlement.

Paine was approaching middle age and had nothing but failures to record: stay maker, privateer, exciseman, schoolmaster, preacher, shopkeeper. All these, however, were merely avocations: his real vocation was that of teacher. Unaided and unsponsored, guided solely by his fervor for justice, he fired the imagination of others. Above all, he taught men to think; he taught them their rights; he taught them to demand those rights and to respect the rights of others. Paine was undoubtedly the most valuable emigrant who ever landed on America's shores—worth more than a dozen Mayflowers. For had the course laid out by the Pilgrim Fathers prevailed, America would be the most dour and dismal country on the face of the globe. The early settlers, fleeing from the persecution of an illiberal Europe, brought with them a bigotry undistinguishable from that of their oppressors. On those who gave utterance to contrary

opinion, they wreaked a vengeance reminiscent of those times when passion overwhelmed reason. To have expelled Jonathan Edwards, Roger Williams, and Anne Hutchinson and exposed them to the rigors of a New England winter and to the fury of a savage foe mocked the teachings of Christ.

Paine, "the infidel," brought much that makes America great. The desire for political liberty, compassion for humanity, and freedom from the domination of a few, whether royalty or clergy, are some of his contributions to the upbuilding of the nation. Casting aside traditions which held men in bondage, yet advocating legal restraint, his impress is patent and acknowledged. To eliminate his principles would be to alter the ideals upon which America was founded, and which help keep her in the front rank of nations.

CHAPTER II

Paine Arrives at Philadelphia

Paine's arrival at Philadelphia on November 30, 1774, occasioned no excitement and no comment. To those watching, his landing meant nothing: he was merely another immigrant, a new face.

Coming from London, Philadelphia must have looked small and provincial. The city was hemmed in between the Schuylkill and the Delaware. Its southern boundary was South Street and it had not yet gone beyond the present Vine Street. Although it enjoyed the position of first in trade and population, it only counted 24,000.

Its commercial life centered around the London Coffee House where merchants met daily, trades consummated, and gossip exchanged. Here, too, were found posted the names of ships' masters wishing cargoes and passengers for out-bound vessels. In its large hall political meetings were held and banquets served. Also within its walls arbitration courts met. In short, this one building served the community many commercial and political purposes.

As a former Londoner, Paine knew the coffee houses as a regular institution. So well recognized were they that they were one of the things travellers regarded as making London unique. They first made their appearance in Constantinople about the 16th Century and were introduced to London by a Turkish merchant who had learned to brew coffee in the East. The idea of a place dispensing only coffee, cocoa, and tea soon took hold until the city could boast of many, each with

a distinctive name by which it became commonly known.

Although they were principally patronized by the upper and middle classes, they were essentially democratic. Anyone was admitted on payment of an admission fee of one penny.

Each coffee house attracted a cliental with a community of interests. Anyone visiting Child's knew that the ministry gathered there; that at Garraway's the medical profession held forth; at Jonathan's the Jewish merchants and traders from Amsterdam, Venice, and the continent; at another, those of Popish inclinations, lending strength to the accepted popular belief that there conniving Jesuits were devising diabolical plots. John Dryden sat at Will's regally discussing with the authority of a pundit the literary events of the day, voicing his opinion of new writers and their work. The excisemen foregathered at the Excise Coffee House in Broad Street and it was from there that Paine wrote his first letter to Dr. Goldsmith.

At their inception these club-like affairs served the very useful purpose of disseminating news. The principle of town halls, public meeting, or political gatherings were unknown in the early part of the 17th Century. Daily some habitué would drop in at his favorite resort, and disclose some information. It might be of first importance, but more often it was only of local interest, a bit of gossip or scandal. Others would do likewise, and in this way each coffee house became a news center.

These social centers were in existence before newspapers became general, and after a manner helped to establish them. Outlying and rural districts only gained their knowledge of events in the capital through letters, by word of mouth or from other sources often irregular and unreliable. The gazette-letters attempted to overcome this difficulty. They were four page weeklies sent each Saturday from London to their subscribers.

The news for these various papers was gathered by the precursers of the modern reporters. Moving from coffee house to coffee house they noted the information current and assembled it for their gazette. From these sources the rest of England knew what was going on in London.

Although they were never opened with that idea, the coffee houses did develop quite a formidable political strength. In 1675, Charles I attempted to close them but met with such determined opposition that he had to forego his plan. With the advent of the regularly printed newspapers they lost their political prestige, but retained their social and club-like character.

The London Coffee House at Philadelphia, although not associated with any particular calling or profession, must have helped Paine feel an English atmosphere in his new home.

Then as now one of the outstanding landmarks of Philadelphia was the old Christ Church, the steeple of which Paine's friend, Dr. Franklin, designed and which required the aid of a lottery to finish.

On the road, the lumbering stage coaches with their post riders differed little from those seen in England. On the street one met chimney sweeps, bell men, public porters carrying huge loads on their backs; slaves and redemptionists from Europe. Constables guarded the city by day, each within his own ward; other watchmen took over the protection of the city at dark. The silence of the night would be broken periodically by the guard with lantern and staff assuringly calling "All's Well, All's Well," coupled with a cry telling the hour. This system must have worked well, for it not only allayed the fears of the timid but let the marauders know just where the minions of the law were at every hour.

Prisoners in jail for debt were often in the habit

of lowering their caps by strings in the hope that some charitable passerby might be moved to drop a few coppers.

Water was drawn from pumps located in the street, and fire for the kitchen stove was either made afresh with flint and steel or from embers borrowed from neighbors.

Each household had its array of whale oil lamps of glass, china or pewter. For additional illumination each home made its own candles from the candle mould found in every household.

The distance to Europe was not measured by miles but by the length of time necessary to reach a port. A fast run to London took twenty-two days; to Marseilles, five to seven weeks.

So uncertain were the mails, due to weather, marauding privateers as well as other perils of war, that commercial houses would not infrequently send four or five copies of their correspondence (all laboriously transcribed by hand) by different vessels in the hope that one at least would arrive. Branch houses did not always confine their letters to business matters but sent to their home office a great deal of political news. This practice gave some of the great commercial houses of continental Europe not only immense prestige but also information unknown in the chancellories.

Although the population was limited, Philadelphia boasted of five newspapers of four sheets. The news carried, in addition to local and colonial items, long copies or extracts of speeches and debates in Parliament. Through this means the colonists were able to size up the political situation in London, and keep themselves posted.

Advertising consisted mostly of offerings of imported wares newly arrived. Ships about to sail also

used this medium to give notice of their scheduled departure.

What must have been of particular interest to Paine was the number of advertisements offering rewards for runaway slaves or indented servants. The notice of the arrival of German redemptioners, engaged in a practice common to the times, must have appeared to him but one step higher than that of medieval serfdom. Villenage, a remainder of the old feudal system, died out in England without special legislature to abolish it. Paradoxically though in America, where social freedom was to be for all, this form of serfdom was maintained long after the United States became an independent nation.

Machines for agriculture in the colonies were both scarce and expensive, so that man power to cultivate the farms and reduce the forests was in great demand. A supply of laborers was maintained by immigrants mostly from German states, who bound themselves out to farmers and planters by contract for terms of years in repayment of passage and other expenses advanced. At the completion of their term, which by agreement ran four, five or even seven years, the worker was given his freedom with a grant of land or money.

Those who had or were under contract to redeem their freedom were known as redemptioners. This system was in operation in Virginia and later introduced into Maryland, New York, Connecticut and even Pennsylvania. With these indented servants were brought in others, the result of kidnapping and shanghaing, so that this immigration, while capable of rendering both the farmer and his laborer a mutual service, was also subject to abuse. Many respectable American families today, and even some prominent ones, can trace their descent to some redemptioner.

Dr. Franklin's letter of introduction enabled Paine

to find early employment. In addition to acting as tutor to the sons of several wealthy Philadelphians, Richard Bach brought Paine in touch with Robert Aitkin, a printer, book seller, and dillatante magazine publisher. At the time Paine joined him Aitkin's Pennsylvania Magazine had already brought out its first issue. The composition and general make-up were not particularly attractive. Although Aitkin put his best efforts behind it, he could muster only six hundred subscribers, and was headed for financial rocks.

Paine took over the management and editorial direction, and infused it with new enthusiasm. His results were remarkable. Under his guidance the subscription list grew within two months to fifteen hundred, and changed a moribund magazine to a live and vibrant one. When one considers the limited audience to which he could appeal, nine hundred additional subscribers in such a short time is a marked measure of success.

His salary was fifty pounds a year. As Moncure Conway notes, "probably no person ever before or since has produced so much good literary work for so meager compensation".

The magazine pages carried essays, letters, and discussions on many subjects, including those of a scientific nature or of a more general appeal. Unquestionably the influence of the inventor Franklin, together with Paine's association with various members of the Philosophical Society (not to overlook his own inclination toward scientific investigation) can be here recognized.

The incentive for Paine's protests against certain accepted practices of his day needed no outside inspiration. He saw them as weaknesses and errors which needed correction and should not be continued

simply because previous complacent generations had accepted them.

With the Pennsylvania Magazine the opportunity presented itself for Paine to denounce the many social wrongs and injustices he recognized. He made the periodical alive with timely topics: his crusading personality dominated its pages. As though some great power had been pent up and suddenly released, each issue was certain to create comment and controversy. In order to create the impression that within its leaves were to be found the opinion of many, Paine used several noms de plumes, whereas in reality they were more often noms de guerre. Had he disclosed himself as the author of most of the text of the magazine its prestige would have suffered.

Any student of Paine's style can easily recognize him, although the essay or letter may be signed "Vox Populi," "Aesop," Atlanticus," etc. They had to depend solely on their contents for acceptance and popularity.

The opportunity the magazine afforded Paine to express himself, even under the cloak of pseudonyms, must have been welcomed by him. From these and other uncensored writings we see his deep convictions on many subjects relating to liberty and equality.

In the postcript to the Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser of March 8, 1775, we find the first written protest in America for the abolition of human slavery. The essay was written by Paine and bore the title "African Slavery in America".

Here we have in America the first protest in principle against the institution of Negro slavery—one which Paine repeated later in his Common Sense. Its effect was not apparent immediately, yet sixteen months later when Jefferson drew up his first draft of the Declaration of Independence he incorporated a clause

denouncing the King and the English government for the position they took on slavery and the slave trade. Due to pressure of South Carolina and Georgia delegates the clause was suppressed in the final draft.

The iniquities and cruelties of slavery had often been attacked before, but the principle of holding one human being in bondage to another had never felt the weight of cold criticism. Paine had no ulterior motive; the practice to him was wrong and unethical. He attacked slavery because he realized its basic injustice. If others saw the institution as he, they lacked the courage to condemn it. Paine alone undertook to denounce the practice at a time when no other dared. How unpopular his animadversion was and how costly the acceptance of his views would be, may be judged when one recalls that the holding of slaves was general throughout the colonies, Pennsylvania alone owning not less than six thousand.

Paine lived to see his efforts to abolish slavery had not been totally in vain, for he introduced a bill in the Pennsylvania Assembly on November 2, 1779, calling for the abolition of slavery in that state. He was clerk of the Assembly and not only drafted but signed the bill, "Act of Pennsylvania Abolishing Slavery"; it became a law March 1, 1780. Pennsylvania thereby gained the honor of being the first state to emancipate the Negro, but she must share such honors with Thomas Paine for having lead the way. Credit, however, should also be given to the high quality of citizenship displayed by the inhabitants of that state. To them, still fighting for their own liberty, the words Freedom and Equality were not empty terms. They gave freely to others those boons for which they were fighting, for which they had suffered, and for which some of their own had even died.

The right of a state to secede from the Union is

held to have been the primary cause of the Civil War. But this question was only brought to the fore because of conditions arising from the possession of slaves, and it is no stretch of the truth to say that if there had been no slave question the issue of state's rights would never have been raised.

Friends of Paine are well within reason when they maintain the position that had his advice been followed to abolish slavery, the war between the states would never have taken place. Millions would not have been dissipated nor hundreds of thousands of lives sacrificed and untold misery and hardships endured.

CHAPTER III

Common Sense Arouses the Colonists

With the signing of the Treaty of Amiens, Great Britain became ruler of all the American colonies from Maine to Georgia. They spoke one language, and their common desire was to be left alone to develop the land and work out their own destinies.

George III was as obstinate and uncompromising a king as has reigned in modern times. He regarded the colonies principally as a source of revenue.

Wars in Europe and public corruption continued to make excessive drains on the British treasury. Heavy taxes were being levied at home, but the rate payers could do nothing but pay since their own representatives sitting in the House of Commons were responsible for the laws. All tax payers were not treated alike. This had prompted Paine, as far back as 1771 and with no thought of America or the future in mind, to protest. Writing to a local paper in Lewes, he complained of the unjust treatment meted out to the Quakers, and in this essay he referred to the iniquity of "Taxation without representation". A phrase casually used there, but which, when trumpeted on the other side of the Atlantic, served as the bugle call around which the colonists five years later were to rally.

In the colonies, the taxing situation differed from that in the mother country. On them assessments were being levied three thousand miles away and no one (but a few unorganized fearless souls) protested. It was the continued imposition of excessive duties

and acts of oppression that did, however, eventually lead to open opposition.

At the time Paine was protesting at home (he had not yet left England) determined and armed revolt took place in North Carolina and was only suppressed by Governor Tyron after two hundred colonists had been killed. Recalling that the settlement was sparsely populated and that those killed were either heads of families, or at least wage earners, the economic loss alone through the death of these men must have been considerable.

Even after the revolt at Lexington early in 1775 the British government did not see the light of reason, but continued in its policy of meeting opposition with acts of even greater violence. In the fall of that year, the city of Falmouth (now Portland, Maine) was burned and laid waste by a British fleet. This was followed by the English celebrating New Year's Day, 1776, by having Norfolk, Virginia, share a similar fate.

The opposition to the payment of taxes and the refusal to comply with various odious acts of tyranny must not be construed as indications of violence against all law and order. Through the depredation of the Royal Fleet the entire colonies became aroused. The inhabitants were not adverse to paying their just and fair share of taxes but insisted on being represented in Parliament. One thing was apparent: while they had a common cause, they lacked political cohesion.

Up to then, it is interesting to note there was no opinion current, either expressed or implied, that separation from the mother country was the only solution. On the contrary, it is not difficult to submit evidence that there was still at that moment a decided and sincere desire to retain amicable relations with Great Britain.

In June, 1774, Massachusetts Colony sent its delegates to the Continental Congress with instructions signed by Samuel Adams that "the restoration of union and harmony between Great Britain and the colonies was most ardently desired by all good men".

Four months later, in October, 1774, the first Continental Congress, in solemn petition to the King, proposed loyalty. "We wish not a diminuation of the prerogative . . . . your royal authority over us and our connection with Great Britain we shall always carefully and zealously endeavor to support and maintain".

In March, 1775, Franklin was still in London on his reconciliation mission and reports that he "had never heard in America one word in favor of Independence from any person drunk or sober". And Paul Revere's ride was only a month off.

When Washington became commander-in-chief, his old military company, congratulating him on his appointment, closes its letter with the wish that "all counsels and operations might be directed to Providence for a happy and lasting union between us and Great Britain".

More than two months after the Battle of Bunker Hill, Jefferson wrote to a kinsman that he was looking with fondness toward a reconciliation with Great Britain.

Few among the colonists were courageous enough even to voice a desire for separation. Paine felt, however, that this was the only course which would eventually lead to peace. In an essay entitled SERIOUS THOUGHT, published in the Pennsylvania Journal, October 18, 1775, he made the first definite statement of a policy of independence. "I hesitate not for a moment to believe that the Almighty will finally separate America from Great Britain. Call it independence or what

you will if it is the cause of God and humanity it will go on".

Here we see used for the first time the term that held such grave consequences for England. SERIOUS THOUGHT was the forerunner of COMMON SENSE, just as it in turn acted for the Declaration of Independence.

The reverses at Lexington and Bunker Hill emphasized the utter lack of preparedness of the colonists to wage a war against the well equipped forces of the Crown. This, together with the general absence of harmony among the various colonies themselves, lost many to the cause of armed opposition and drew the undecided to the side of the government, leaving a few firm in their first determination to repel all further acts of aggression.

A single measure of sincere conciliation on the part of England at this time would have been so welcomed by the populace that all thought of armed resistance would have dissipated.

As the children of Israel would have been only too willing to continue making bricks if Pharoah had only supplied the straw; as the French would have continued suffering, if Louis had only supplied them bread, so the colonists would have remained such if England had only made some gesture toward reconciliation. But what could they expect from a king then already half insane, and who ended his days a complete imbecile?

Ever since Paine's arrival in America, his position as editor of the Pennsylvania Magazine had permitted him to express himself freely on many topics tabooed at home, or else would have brought him into conflict with the authorities. In Pennsylvania he was able to give tongue to thoughts and opinions that reflected the broad aspect of a virgin country, unhampered by traditions and not controlled by overlords.

Many of his readers were pioneers in a physical sense; he in a spiritual one.

Perceiving the stalemate even the minor military reverses had caused among the colonists, Paine was apprehensive lest his ideal (as yet not fully stated) of a nation free and independent of Great Britain, would die aborning, he decided to take action. There then appeared a rather unpretentious pamphlet (author undisclosed) which achieved results unparalled in literary history. The power of that almost insignificant pamphlet, COMMON SENSE, to overcome such marked and deep seated desires for peace, must have been prodigious. With no help, himself unknown, at imminent risk of his freedom for sedition, Paine fought his battle alone. Had the conciliatory attitude prevailed, America would be today part of the British Empire. Instead, she owes her independence to the pertinacity of an immigrant with vision and an overwhelming desire for liberty. Paine offered COMMON SENSE under the cloak of anonymity (written by an Englishman), for, as he said in the preface to the third edition, "the object for attention is the Doctrine itself, not the man". Being practically unknown, the authorship was attributed to Samuel Adams, but the very thought of his sponsoring some of the extremely unorthodox principles gave him an attack of chills. Franklin was likewise charged with being the author. No one suspected the versatile and unobtrusive editor of the Pennsylvania Magazine.

Many of the thoughts expressed were shared by other colonists, but none dared voice them. Paine assumed the responsibility of what might be the aftermath, and gave articulation to doctrines and hopes born not of despair but of righteous indignation at the usurpation and suppression of natural rights.

Americans believe that freedom is indigenous to their soil. If Paine did not cast the Liberty Bell, he

did provide its tongue; he made it ring, and sent its peals to resound throughout the colonies. So thoroughly has the conception of Independence been woven into the fabric of American political structure that neither panic nor strife, rebellion nor war can nullify or modify it.

Although he sought neither aid nor advice from them, Paine read COMMON SENSE to Franklin, Rittenhouse, Samuel Adams, and Benjamin Rush before publication. They were all enthusiastic, Dr. Rush even suggesting the title.

Unquestionably Paine's recent arrival gave him a grasp of the situation in America, from an Englishman's point of view, not available to residents of the colonies. In COMMON SENSE he was able to capitalize on this provincial and limited outlook. For him the obstinacy of both king and ministers could lead only to separation. The British would not yield and the colonists could not without losing their self respect and their purses as well.

The British government at home recognized the principle that no man shall be taxed without his consent. That same doctrine the colonists wished applied to them. It involved representation in Parliament. When that right was denied, Paine was forced to the conclusion that the only solution was separation. His argument was that independence was the only consistent line to pursue, that "it must come to that some time or other", and the longer delayed, the more difficult would the task become.

All his life Paine was an ardent advocate for representative government and in COMMON SENSE he outlined a truly representative system. To him, such a form was the only one suitable for civilized men; autocracy only for the ignorant. Were he alive today, he would regard the seven or eight contemporary dictators as throwbacks—examples of regression.

Twenty years after COMMON SENSE he reaffirmed his belief in popular representation in his DISSERTATION ON FIRST PRINCIPLES OF GOVERNMENT. "The true and only true basis of representation government is equality of rights. Every man has a right to a vote and no more in the choice of representation. The rich have no more right to exclude the poor from the right of voting or electing or being elected than the poor have to exclude the rich, and whenever it is attempted or proposed on either side, it is a question of force and not of right. Who is he that would exclude another? That other has a right to exclude him".

COMMON SENSE was at the time of its publication regarded as so radical that Paine had difficulty in getting a printer to sponsor it. Finally Robert Bell agreed to set it up, Paine guaranteeing him against any loss, and also to share equally with him whatever profits might accrue from the venture. It was not the intention of the author to retain his share for he had instructed Bell to turn over his profits to Colonel Joseph Dean and Captain Thomas Prior for mittens for troops about to start for Quebec. The printer, sad to relate, never made any division of profits but collected from Paine the sum of thirty-nine pounds, eleven shillings even to the last penny.

Paine knew when Parliament convened in London the king would make his usual address at its opening session. His knowledge of the King's mentality gained both from the monarch's actions while Paine was still in England, coupled with the Crown's behavior in America led him to feel that he could predict with a fair degree of certainty the tone of the all important speech.

The release of COMMON SENSE was timed so that it was offered for sale January 10, 1776, on the same day that the first copies of the king's speech arrived in Philadelphia. The pamphlet was read with avidity.

Due to its language, its lucidity and incisiveness, its sharp, terse phrases, it made an instant appeal. He left no middle course. For some his message was like a clarion call from heaven; for others, like a withering blast from hell.

If COMMON SENSE lacked the cold unyielding logic of lawyers it possessed something more valuable. Within its leaves it breathed the spirit of ambition to throw off oppression, to create a new nation independent and free.

The arguments used to arouse that fervor were offered in plain language supported by common sense; they kindled a fire that neither defeat, treachery or division could extinguish.

To have the colonists denounced as rebels and traitors, and to have the government assert "the right of the legislator of England to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever," aroused in them a resentment only equalled by their anger at the destruction of their cities and the massacre of their fellow citizens at Lexington.

COMMON SENSE came to them like an answer sent by a divine Providence. Just as the Scots rallied for battle to the call of Rhoderick Dhue's bugle; just as the Indians summoned their warriors by the smoke of their fires; just as the Hottentots gathered at the beating of the tom-tom, so did this small tract arouse the patriots of America.

Imagine the effect on a people surfeited with English despotism and overburdened with taxes heaped upon them, to support an unseen royalty or help pay for wars based on dynasty claims, by Paine's statement: "Of more worth is one honest man in society and in the sight of God than all the crowned ruffians that ever lived".

The popularity of this pamphlet was astounding. Over 150,000 copies of it were sold among a popula-

tion of but 3,000,000. Since America is now forty times that, it would be equivalent to a best seller of 6,000,000 copies today.

Paine was shrewd enough to realize that if priced too high, its sales would be retarded. What he wanted was circulation and so ordered that it be sold for not more than two shillings. The effect of this innocuous looking brochure of less than fifty pages was electric. It galvanized the people into action and changed thousands from inert to active participants in the cause of liberty.

No work ever published breathed the fiery spirit of revolt on one page and on the next counseled the advisability of orderly restraint, as did COMMON SENSE. The Reverend Theodore Parker once said, "Every man in America in 1776 who could read, read COMMON SENSE by Thomas Paine. If he were a Tory he read it at least a little just to find out for himself how atrocious it was, and if he were a Whig, he read it all to find the reason why he was one. The book was the arsenal to which colonists went for their mental weapons".

This picture holds also equally true for those unable to read. There are accounts where the illiterate bought the pamphlet to have it read to them. It must not be assumed, however, that the attitude of "no taxation without representation" was universally shared by all the colonists. There were many with distinct leanings to the mother country's point of view. The English people looked upon the collection of taxes from the colonists as fair and just. It had been expensive to repel the French and drive them back into Canada, and to ask the colonists to support and maintain an army of ten thousand men to be used against any foreign invader, and to protect the inhabitants from Indian raids, was quite within the province of governmental control.

The stamp tax rates were not excessive. As the stamps were only to be affixed to legal documents it would effect but a very small percentage of the population. The Boston Tea Party, with its wanton destruction of property, was looked upon not only in England but by those colonists who had deeply rooted conceptions of law and order, as a violent outburst of lawlessness. Such disregard for order was quite in line with Boston's reputation at this time as a smuggler's rendezvous. In fact, at the height of the opposition to the tea tax, two of its most prominent citizens, John Hancock and John Adams, were being sought by the authorities on warrants charging them with smuggling.

As time progressed and the rebel's cause appeared to be meeting with success, thousands of substantial citizens, honest in their convictions, feared, under the new regime, for the safety not only of their goods but their lives as well. With the successive evacuations of Boston, New York and Philadelphia a not inconsiderable number of merchants, traders, shippers and others engaged in commerce accompanied the departing armies. These Tory emigrants controlled much wealth, which they naturally took with them, since any property left behind was subject to confiscation and forfeiture.

The flight of this capital severely retarded the progress of the colonies once peace was established, a condition which prevailed for at least two decades. Some of these self-appointed exiles settled in Canada, others in Nova Scotia, but the majority went to England, although America was in most instances their birthplace. There they failed to find the security they had hoped for, as abroad conditions were greatly unsettled, governments toppling and continental wars raging.

America was soon to enter upon a period of peace,

while Europe was at this time (the third quarter of the 18th Century) about to enter a period of protracted strife and disturbance, which lasted until well into the first quarter of the 19th; Napoleon's rampages across the map of Europe serving to keep that continent unsettled until 1815. With all engrossed in prosecuting wars, little opportunity was offered for the peaceful rehabilitation of the American emigrés, with the result that many ended their lives in poverty, the more fortunate as servile pensioners. Had the London government in its negotiations with the colonists exhibited a moiety of better judgment either in the manner in which the imposts were entered, or had the accompanying proclamations been couched in language more tactful, a peaceful adjustment might have been effected.

The rallying cry of "no taxation" became popular among a portion of the population which had visions of abolishing all taxations. Paine saw the problem on a broader basis. If left to its own devices, the opposition to the tax laws would have resolved itself into a mere rebellion. He raised the plane of separation to a higher level, and made the colonists see their battle as one for more fundamental principles; and through his efforts he was able to rally them to victory around his shibboleth of Freedom, Liberty, and Equality.

Tories everywhere tried unsuccessfully to reply to COMMON SENSE. The New York convention was sitting in session at Albany when the pamphlet was received in that city. General Scott, one of its outstanding members, read the work, became greatly incensed at its contents and at the unorthodox, not to say boldness, of the arguments. At his suggestion, he and several of his colleagues met for the purpose of answering this revolutionary tract. Another member, a Mr. McThesson, also read the work, and while they originally thought replying a matter of first impor-

tance, in the absence of arguments capable of refuting those offered, they decided to adjoin for another meeting. They met again later. In the interim so profound an impression had the pamphlet made wherever read that they discreetly decided that it was not only useless but needless to reply. Opprobium would only help to popularize the work.

Although Paine never advocated violence as the means for the acceptance of his views, ironically, advocates of the principles he advanced resorted to lawlessness to suppress a reply to COMMON SENSE. In March 1776, Samuel London, a citizen and printer of New York advertised in the New York Gazette and Mercury that he would print and publish a reply to Paine's pamphlet written by New York loyalists.

At the tavern of one Jasper Drake a group of militant spirits met and decided on action which would affectively suppress the announced reply. From this meeting thy went to London's home, seized and burned 1500 printed copies as well as the original manuscript. This left the field for COMMON SENSE unopposed.

The raiders did not stop with this single misdeed but notified every printer in New York of his peril if he ignored the notice they served.

"Sir:

if you print, or suffer to be printed in your presses anything against the rights and liberties of America or in favor of our inveterate foes the King, Ministry and Parliament of Great Britain, death and destruction, ruin and perdition shall be your portion.

Signed
By the order of this committee of tarring and feathering Legion."

COMMON SENSE is not solely a diatribe against a king and his government three thousand miles away.

It contains much of a constructive nature. Here Paine offered the first definite outline for a republican representative government. While Plato, nearly two thousand years before, had given the world his conception of a republic, it was so Utopian that, despite the great advance made in government and also the great lapse of time, mankind has not seen fit to avail itself of its principles. Recognition must also be made to the so-called republics of Italy during the middle ages. These were, however, republics in name only. Suffrage, the true index of a democratic republic, was restricted to a few favored families, the masses remaining without any voice in their government, so that the elections, when held, did not indicate the will of the governed.

Paine outlined in COMMON SENSE a truly representative republican form: the world's first elective system by all citizens, a plan upon which the present government of the United States is now largely based and which has not only stood the test of time, but has served as a model for other republics of the world.

It is to his credit likewise that he saw and emphasized that the American problem was a continental one, a point of view not generally shared by his contemporaries. Time has vindicated him, for only by regarding the problems as continental in character was the young nation able to gather the thirteen colonies under one banner. He said, "our strength and happiness is continental not provincial".

Too much credit cannot be lavished upon Paine for having seen beyond the woods, the rivers, the mountains. He visioned an empire where others only saw a colony. True, this newcomer to America was a dreamer, but a "dreamer lives forever, the toiler but a day".

COMMON SENSE should be revered by Americans as the Magna Charta is by the British. Within six

months of its publication it had weaned the colonists from their doctrine of dependence, and paved the way for the drafting and signing of their Declaration of Independence.

Probably no better means exists for measuring the influence of the pamphlet than by gauging its reaction on some of the principal actors of the Revolution. Washington was, at the opening of hostilities, probably the richest man in all the colonies: a large land owner, possessing upwards of 50,000 acres. To espouse the cause of rebellion and have it fail, was inviting not only the forfeiture of his estates but his life as well. Therefore, before an individual so situated would cast his lot with the cause, it was necessary to convince him beyond peradventure as to the correctness of the contemplated step. He was at first more inclined to strive for conciliation and harmony with the mother country than to take up arms against her.

Six months before COMMON SENSE made its appearance, Washington, while on his way to Congress, met his Royalist preacher, the Reverend Jonathan Boucher, as they were crossing the Potomac. Their boats met in midstream. Knowing Washington's sentiments, he inquired about the question then uppermost in every mind, regarding the independence of the colonies. Washington declared, "If you ever hear of my joining in such measures, you may put me down for everything wicked".

Soon after its appearance in January, 1776, he read COMMON SENSE. Within the month he wrote to Joseph Reed at Norfolk: "A few more of such flaming arguments as were exhibited at Falmouth and Norfolk, added to the sound doctrine and unanswerable reasoning contained in the pamphlet COMMON SENSE, will not leave numbers at a loss to decide upon the propriety of separation".

Another letter to this same correspondent from

Washington, shortly after COMMON SENSE had a chance to circulate, contains this statement. "By private letters lately received from Virginia I find that COMMON SENSE is working a powerful change there in the minds of many men".

Eight years later, in support of a request by Paine for Congressional recognition, Washington wrote to James Madison urging that some action be taken toward rewarding Paine for his services. Apparently moved not only by the justice of the request but likewise as an expression of gratitude he asked, "Must the merits and services of COMMON SENSE continue to glide down the stream of time unrewarded by this country? His writings certainly have had a powerful effect on the public mind, ought they not then to meet an adequate return"?

John Quincy Adams said Paine's pamphlet crystallized public opinion and was the first factor in bringing about the Revolution.

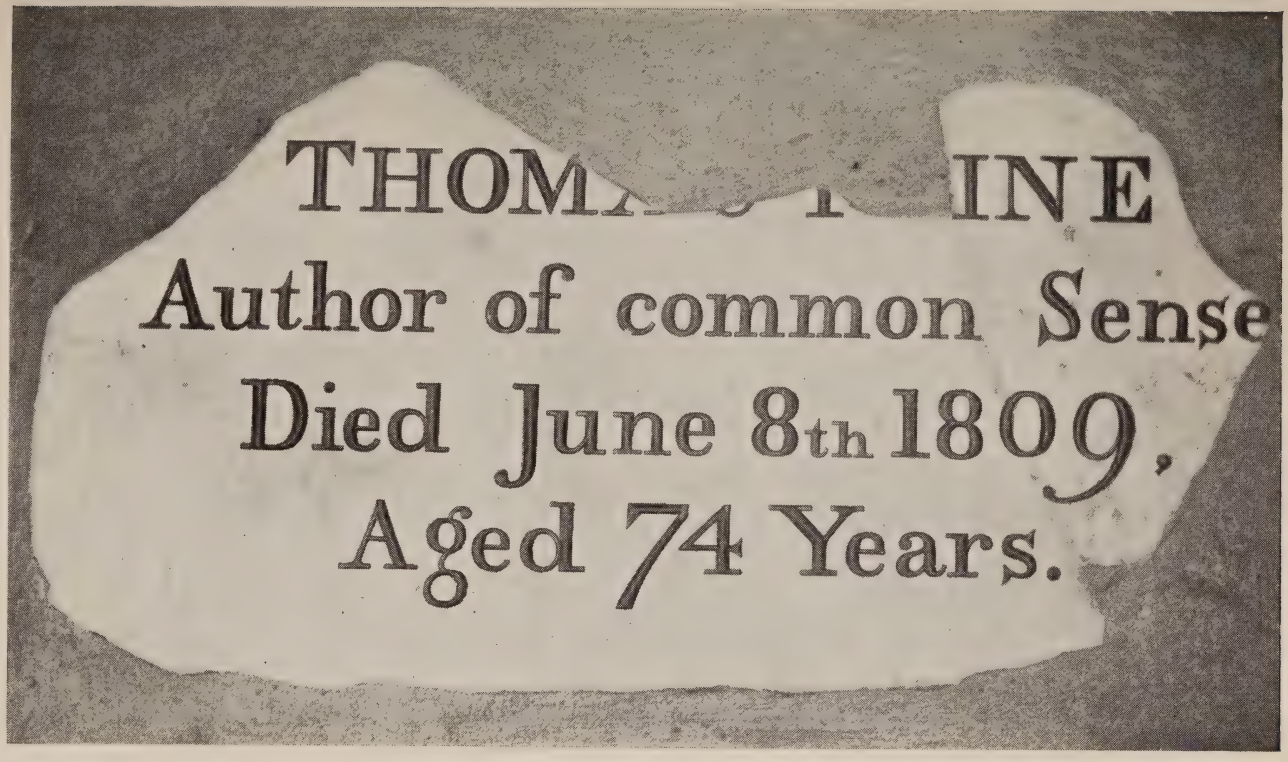
Every prominent participant in the War for Freedom willingly and freely subscribed to the nation's debt to Paine's active mind and facile pen.

The appreciation and expressions of the country's obligation to Paine by the leaders of the Revolution are often quoted and have become part of the record of that struggle. What the reaction to his pamphlet was among the "common run of people" is not so well known. The following are culled from the Pennsylvania Evening Post of this pre-war period.

"A pamphlet entitled COMMON SENSE has converted thousands to independence that could not endure the idea before."

"COMMON SENSE hath made Independents of the majority of the country."

"If you know the author of COMMON SENSE tell him he has done wonders and worked miracles—made Tories, Whigs and washed blackamoors white."



THOMAS PAINE'S GRAVE STONE
Courtesy Thomas Paine National Historical Association

This is all that remains of the stone that originally stood on Paine's grave which was located just south of the south-east corner of North and Paine Avenue, New Rochelle, N. Y. His age is given incorrectly as he was seventy-two years and five months old at time of death.

"Who is the author of COMMON SENSE? I can scarce refrain from adoring him. He deserves a statue of gold."

"The pamphlet entitled COMMON SENSE is indeed a wonderful production. It is completely calculated for the meridian of North America."

On the very day (June 7, 1776) on which the resolution for Independence was introduced in Congress, William Gordon, the historian of the Revolution, recorded: "The constant publications which have appeared and been read with attention, have greatly promoted the spirit of independence; but no one so much as the pamphlet under the signature of COMMON SENSE written by Mr. Thomas Paine an Englishman".

Undoubtedly all felt this small pamphlet played a large role in bringing about the freedom of the colonies and establishing them as an independent nation. Despite her callous and even unjust treatment of him, Paine often referred to the country as his beloved America. Whether he regarded COMMON SENSE as his most important work or was proud of the part it had played in the formation of the United States can only be inferred. However, he was willing to have posterity associate its authorship with him and directed that his grave stone bear this inscription:

THOMAS PAINE
Author of
COMMON SENSE*

That the publication of COMMON SENSE was epochal cannot be gainsaid. It turned men's thoughts from subjugation to independence; from a monarchy to a

* After his grave was desecrated, this stone was removed but now rests safely in the Paine Memorial Museum at New Rochelle, New York.

republic. Through it a new nation conceived in equality was born. That its birth was marked by much bloodshed and distress is to be regretted. Though many feared to act Paine did not shirk his responsibility. So his friends resent, and justly so, the efforts of protagonists of those who (with all danger past) seek to wrest from him the honor of having written and first advanced the principles expressed in this pamphlet.

A biographer of Dr. Benjamin Rush claims that the most important thing the physician did in his whole life was to inspire Thomas Paine to write and help him publish the pamphlet COMMON SENSE. This though is not so. If Rush's greatest claim to fame is based on his assistance to Paine it rests on a rather weak foundation. Paine needed no outside inspiration.

Long before reaching America he had given ample indication of his liberal views, and knew through personal experience and observation at home of the corruption and weaknesses of the then existing English government. Paine strove to prevent a repetition and perpetuation of these conditions in America based on a separation from the mother country. Through the agency of his Pennsylvania Magazine he expressed himself more fearlessly and with even less restraint than he had in London.

In COMMON SENSE he wrote what others like Rush might have thought. To write and publish sedition and subversive matter the early part of 1776 was dangerous to the highest degree—such acts being capital offenses.

Rush's biographer admits this danger and concedes that it deterred him from writing a pamphlet like COMMON SENSE, presuming he was capable. Paine assumed the risk and wrote his fateful essay. Claim is now made in Rush's behalf for a part of the fame for bringing out this work. Was not Paine's life as

dear to him as life was to Rush? Does not this reveal the doctor as lacking in courage and Paine as having possessed the zeal of a crusader?

Aside from suggesting the title Rush was no more responsible for the success of COMMON SENSE than Franklin, Rittenhouse or Adams to whom it was read before publication. To try to build up Rush at the expense of Paine is unjust. To credit him for having inspired this work is hardly established by facts.

Supporters of Philip Mazzei maintain that he preceded Thomas Paine by at least two years in that he advocated separation in Pinkney's Virginia Gazette from 1774 to 1775. There is no proof that Paine living in Pennsylvania had even had access to a local paper printed in Virginia. The strength of COMMON SENSE lay first in its inimitable language, and secondly, in its great circulation. That Mazzei's writings were running for a year or more without achieving any results should be sufficient answer to any claims for their influence.

Modesty was not one of this Italian's qualities, and not unlike his modern defenders, he was apt to arrogate to himself, we fear, honors to which he was not entitled. From his memoirs: "They would come to ask my advice from all parts of the country, which covered about 150 miles. After Jefferson they said I was the best man in the country." Shades of Franklin, Washington and Adams.

The name of John Adams is also advanced as having first conceived the idea of American independence. It is claimed that in 1755, when but twenty years old just out of Harvard, he wrote to Dr. Webb: "The only way to help us from setting up for ourselves is to disunite us". This letter however did not become public until many years later—long after the publication of COMMON SENSE.

Conceding the facts to be as stated, how could Paine

have gained knowledge of the contents of this private letter? Of what service could Adams' secret idea have been to the colonies? Of what use would Edison's invention of the electric light have been if he had hid it under a bushel? Of what value would Bell's telephone have been if he had pigeon-holed it? Of what service would Marconi's wireless be if he too had kept it secret? Paine broadcasted and popularized the idea of separation and freedom. That was the object of COMMON SENSE, and that it succeeded should be sufficient answer.

CHAPTER IV

Dark Days of the Revolution

Paine was practical enough to realize that while his words and pamphlets might convert and hold his friends, it was only arms and force that the enemy could be made to understand. Consequently he enlisted and shouldered a musket, joining first a Pennsylvania division under General Roberdeau. When that enlistment expired he joined General Greene.

Paine's fame was by now well established both with the patriot and British armies. The red coats at this time, enjoyed the reputation of being among the world's best soldiers. In Europe they had garnered one victory after another when pitted against the strongest the continent could offer.

The military authorities at home regarded the rebels with contempt. General Grant in a debate in the House of Commons declared, "with five regiments of infantry, he would undertake to traverse the whole country and drive the inhabitants from one end of it to the other".

At Fort Lee the colonies suffered disastrous defeat. Note the air of contempt with which a British officer describes that victory. "On appearance of our troops, the rebels fled like scared rabbits and in a few moments after we reached the hill near their intrenchments, not a rascal of them could be seen. They have left some poor pork, a few greasy proclamations, and some of that scoundrel Common Sense man's letters which we can read at our leisure now that we have got one of the impregnable redoubts of Mr. Washington to quarter in".

That the untrained farmers and militiamen were influenced by the reputation of their opponents there can be little doubt. Nothing demoralizes an army more quickly than a retreat after a defeat. When the withdrawal comes after several reverses, when food is scarce, supplies and equipment inadequate, its courage, too, is apt to falter.

With the defeat of the American armies in and near New York, Washington was forced to retreat through New Jersey to the Delaware. The Continental army at this time was a sorry looking affair. Undernourished, poorly armed and clad, it was utterly unprepared to withstand the rigor of a Northern winter. It had met with one reverse after another. To them there was no Moses in sight, to lead them out of the Wilderness.

Just as it often takes a crisis in one's own life to reveal some latent sterling quality, so did this crisis of the army produce a stimulant for its flagging spirits. Paine, through his COMMON SENSE, had aroused the population to a fateful action, but which once awakened, and to be ultimately successful, must be kept alive. His SERIOUS THOUGHT and his COMMON SENSE had galvanized a nation into action. Was he to see his ideal go a-glimmering without even getting a trial?

A few days after the American army had crossed the Delaware on the eighth of December, 1776, he wrote to Henry Laurens, "I came to Philadelphia in public service and seeing the deplorable and melancholy condition the people were in, afraid to speak and almost to think, the public press stopt and nothing to circulate but fears and falsehoods, I sat down and in what I may call a passion of patriotism, wrote the first number of the Crisis".

When finished, he had written that immortal essay, the opening lines of which every school child at some

time must have repeated, "these are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of their country: but he that stands it now deserves the love and thanks of man and woman.

"Tyranny, like hell is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the conflict the more glorious the triumph; what we obtain too cheap we esteem too lightly: 'tis dearness only that gives everything its value. Heaven knows how to put a proper price upon its goods, and it would be strange indeed if so celestial an article as Freedom should not be highly rated."

Paine was able to convey to the dispirited army his deep conviction in the righteousness of the cause. He instilled it with renewed confidence and a desire to fight and win. Like some fabulous elixir it changed depression to hope.

By Washington's directions it was read at the head of every regiment. That the effect of this assuring message should not be lost, the commander directed that the watchword for the attack on Trenton (then already planned) should be "These are the times that try men's souls". If the spirit of the soldier in combat counts for anything, then no small credit for the success of this crucial battle is due Paine.

From Philadelphia, just four weeks after the Battle of Trenton, in reply to a proclamation of General Howe, Paine issued Crisis II. In it he taunts the British commander, ridicules his pretenses, and speaks not with the humility of an inferior but strikes a note of superiority. With the voice of a prophet he says, "The United States of America will sound as pompously in the world or history as the Kingdom of Great Britain". Each of the thirteen Crisis was written, as its name indicated, to help the colonists during some difficult period.

After the Battle of Trenton, Paine retired from the army to take up various duties in connection with governmental affairs. The British had been endeavoring to incite the Indians to attack the outlying settlers. The Pennsylvania Assembly early in 1777 appointed Paine secretary of a commission to negotiate with the Indians of Pennsylvania at Easton. Evidently Paine, like his predecessor Quakers in the same state, was successful in his efforts to treat with the Red men. For this work he received three hundred pounds.

Congress in the Spring of the same year elected him secretary of its Committee of Foreign Affairs. In that capacity Paine was fully conscious of the responsibility of the office. He made it a point always to keep the American representatives abroad as thoroughly informed how affairs were progressing at home as prudence would permit. His office enabled him not only to send advice but also to receive and read all incoming correspondence. He was thus probably better acquainted with the affairs of the struggling patriots than any of his contemporaries.

Many biographers of Paine either through animus or lack of knowledge regard his action in the Silas Deane affair a reflection on his honor. It is rarely referred to in text books and when it is mentioned elsewhere he is often stigmatized as having been guilty of "a gross breach of confidence". No appreciation of the man Paine would be complete or fair without due consideration of the part he played in this conspiracy. The sordid Deane affair is involved. But for Paine's interference it would have been very costly to the struggling colonies.

As early as May, 1775, a Frenchman, Debourg, had suggested the advisability of France assisting the colonists, not because she loved them less but hated England more. With hate the compelling motive it was not incongruous for the most despotic monarchy of

Europe to help establish a government based on freedom and democratic representation.

A year later the plan was approved to give America one million livres. The handling of the fund was delegated to the court favorite Baron de Beaumarchais, playright and author of THE BARBER OF SEVILLE and THE MARRIAGE OF FIGARO.

Arthur Lee, then secret agent for the colonists in London, proposed in exchange for the French assistance that America and France conclude political and commercial treaties, by which the latter would secure all the advantages with which the colonies had enriched England. This offer was made February 26, 1776.

The following June the French government turned over to Beaumarchais the million livres. Here a hitch seems to have developed in the carrying out of the original plan to make the colonies a gratuitous contribution.

An outright gift such as this would have been in violation of an existing treaty between England and France, one which Louis XVI was anxious to respect. A subterfuge had therefore to be invented to circumvent the treaty. To sell contraband to combatants is not a violation of international law. Therefore a commercial dummy, Roderique Hortalez and Company, was set up as the ostensible supplier.

Two days after Beaumarchais received the money he advised Lee (who was still in London) of the necessary change in their modus operandi. He outlined to him that one half of the sum allotted would be forwarded in gold and the rest in powder. It was understood that Roderique Hortalez and Company were offering these generous terms "to give successive aid to the Americans by the shortest and surest means of return in tobacco".

In order to win the King's consent to this artifice, Beaumarchais reminded his monarch that an oppor-

tunity was being offered to punish England for having forced France out of India and despoiled her of Canada. Furthermore, the powder could be taken from the French arsenals at the rate of from four to six soles per pound and charged for at twenty soles, per pound. There is no evidence that the king was interested in the excess profit suggested, or in the tobacco to be received.

Lee agreed to the proposition and sent a special messenger with the news to Congress. While it is true he reported that tobacco was expected in return, the shipment of this commodity was simply to conform to the fiction that the transaction was a purely mencantile one without any political significance. Little did he think that it was the intention of suppliers to charge twenty soles for something costing them only from four to six.

The French government, anxious to supplant England as the chief European source of supplies assured the American commissioner that the million was to be regarded as a gift.

Silas Deane, a delegate from Connecticut, was sent in June, 1776, by Congress to France to report on the feeling there toward the struggling colonies and the possibility of her supplying them with military stores. A month later, July 17, 1776 (four weeks after Lee had completed all his arrangements), Deane met Beaumarchais for the first time.

Since Congress at the time of Deane's departure had no knowledge of Lee's success, it had commissioned Deane, in addition to his other duties, to contract for urgently needed supplies. Through his meeting with Deane, Beaumarchais learned of his authority to negotiate and promptly ignored Lee and took up with Deane. Lee had, however, through his messenger, already notified Congress of the outcome of his negotiations.

The American commissioners then resident in Paris were Franklin, Deane, and Lee, and they wrote to Congress assuring it that "no repayment would ever be required from us, for what has already been given us, either in money or stores". This letter was sent in October, 1777, but abstracted from an intercepted packet so that a duplicate of it did not arrive until March 1778.

In the meantime Beaumarchais had sent his agent De Francy to America to collect against the million the French government had given as a gift.

The absence of the commissions' letter and the subsequent arrival of the duplicate together with Beaumarchais' agent insisting payment gave Paine the first reason to become suspicious of the whole affair.

To have drafts made on an empty treasury is disconcerting, to have drafts of questionable legality presented, is demoralizing. Congress was without funds, a state well known to Deane; it was also in possession of the delayed letter absolving them of Beaumarchais' claim. The whole matter had now become so involved that Congress ordered Deane's recall. He reached home July, 1778, and appeared before Congress August 9 and 21, but his explanations were not satisfactory. The leaving of his papers in Paris and his admission of having borrowed funds from Beaumarchais did not impress that body. He requested a third hearing but it was denied. He then sought vindication through the public print and set forth his version of his difficulties in an article addressed to the free and virtuous citizens of America. He complained of the unjust treatment of his fellow commissioners in Paris and claimed for himself credit for having obtained the supplies from France so sorely needed. This protest was dated December 5, 1778.

Deane still had many powerful friends in Congress, among whom he could count John Jay, John Adams,

Gouveneur Morris, and others. The decision to dismiss Deane met with violent opposition and split that body into two factions. John Jay, one of Deane's staunchest defenders, now became president of Congress. Henry Laurens, his predecessor, had been the leader of the opposition. With this change, Paine saw Deane vindicated and the plot concocted in Paris consummated in America.

The author of COMMON SENSE did not at this time maintain himself exclusively from his meager salary as secretary of the Committee of Foreign Affairs, but augmented his income by newspaper work. Congress knew this when they appointed him, and for that reason drafted a special form of oath of office. It read as follows: "That the said secretary, previous to his entering on his office, take an oath, to be administered by the president well and faithfully to execute the trust reposed in him according to his best skill and judgment, and to disclose no matter the knowledge of which shall be acquired in consequence of his office *that shall be directed to keep secret*".

Paine replied to Deane's defence in the Pennsylvania Packet, January 2, 1779.

In his capacity as secretary, Paine had access to all incoming foreign reports and documents. Having reason (based on more than mere assumption), he published a statement telling what he knew about Deane's activities abroad together with certain other matters not pertinent to the controversy then raging. The reference innocently made, created a repercussion that was international.

Deane's right for recognition of services abroad was not well established. Paine revealed this in his reply to him and divulged that the supplies then under discussion had been received from *"those who are now her (American) allies, prefaced that alliance by an early and generous friendship,"* etc. These few words

carried the dynamite that blew Paine out of office, wrecked Deane's pretense of having obtained the supplies, and set the French ambassador Gerard about the head of Congress.

Whether he was animated by a newspaperman's code to serve his readers best by serving the country first, or whether he was moved by a patriotic urge, is beside the question. Furthermore, Paine was one of the closest students of international affairs in the colonies and must have known of the hornet's nest he was likely to arouse by any indiscreet exposure. When he replied to Deane, France had already become the active ally of the Americans. The supplies, credit for which Deane so loudly claimed, had been arranged for two years previous to Deane's arrival in Paris. He thus had no part in procuring them.

Friends of Deane insisted that Paine, in making this disclosure, had violated his sworn oath, although a reading of it will show that Paine was only pledged to silence in such matters that "shall be directed to keep secret". Congress never directed not to divulge anything about Deane.

To have allowed Paine's allusion to go unanswered would have placed France in the position of having actively helped the Colonists while still posing as a neutral.

Gerard was placated by Congress voting "his Majesty did not preface his alliance with any supplies whatsoever sent to America".

Since the reply to Deane had been signed "Common Sense," Paine was called before Congress and asked by Jay if he had written the letter. At his affirmative reply, he was requested to withdraw. No opportunity was given to defend himself. Nearly every member knew he had documents to sustain his position but they were more anxious not to offend France than to learn the truth. With such treatment

at the hands of a Congress controlled by Deane's friends, Paine followed the only honorable course open and resigned.

From the publication of COMMON SENSE three years before, Paine had voluntarily relinquished all claims or rights to his political writings as an additional contribution to the cause of the struggling colonies. To see Deane enter into a conspiracy to dip his hands into the treasury which had hardly sufficient wealth to cover the bottom of its strong box, incensed him so that he took effective means to frustrate this infamous scheme.

To have handled the issue with more diplomacy might have allowed Deane to consummate his nefarious affair. To save the treasury from a raid of one million dollars, drastic steps had to be taken. That he compromised France was unfortunate, but can only be looked upon as an indiscretion hardly meriting the stigma of having committed a "scandalous breach of trust". Paine could easily have justified his action by a Machiavellian defence.

Deane, thoroughly discredited, returned to Europe. He was not permitted to land in France, and sought refuge in Holland. There, like a true renegade he engaged in treacherous communication with England, opposed the cause of Independence, and advocated submission both in France and America. Confirmation is offered that birds of a feather do flock together when it is noted that later while living in England, Deane and Benedict Arnold became friends. Deane never returned to America and died in 1789 at Deal, in poverty and practically friendless.

CHAPTER V

Paine Secures the Aid of France

Although Paine's political writings would have brought him, as he himself admitted a 'tolerable fortune," he early resolved never to profit financially from any such efforts. Through his loss of salary as secretary he became financially embarrassed. He was even obliged to take service as a clerk with a Philadelphia attorney named Biddle. He appealed to the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, informing it of his personal needs and reminding it also of the fact that he had never received any compensation for his services.

Suspecting that his usefulness as a member of the government had been destroyed by his zeal for its interests, he decided to publish and put on sale those of his essays and writings which had not been written as part of his plan to awaken the colonists to the righteousness of their cause. Lacking the necessary capital he applied for a loan from the Pennsylvania Assembly of one thousand pounds.

There does not seem to be any record of the assembly complying with the request. In a way, this should be looked upon as a blessing in disguise. For had Paine received the loan he would have applied himself to his publishing plan, and withdrawn from public life. Instead, matters so shaped themselves that he soon found himself again in government employ.

In response to his plea for an appointment, the Council expressed appreciation for the service rendered by Paine in the cause of Liberty and would gladly have

assisted him, but to do so might have been displeasing to Gerard the French ambassador whose good will all felt was essential for the successful outcome of the fight for independence.

Gerard, however, allowed the appointment to be made without a protest, although he took the opportunity of making some derogatory remarks concerning Paine. The election of Paine to the clerkship of the Pennsylvania Assembly can only be construed as a vindication.

The irony of the situation was indeed poignant. Paine, who had inspired the rebellion for Liberty: who had resolved not to take any gain from his works written for the struggle, found himself appointed to a minor position subjected to the favor of one who had not been above suspicion as having participated in the Deane conspiracy.

Although the colonists enjoyed the stimulus of the victory at Trenton and the surrender of Bougoryne, the outlook in the early part of 1780 was far from rosy. Regardless of how right the cause, how fervidly the spirit may burn, the time comes when nothing but wealth can secure those certain necessities without which no ultimate victory can be hoped for. There is no substitute for food; nothing can take the place of steel; a wintry blast chills not only the body, but the spirit as well.

Washington was fully cognizant of the serious aspect of the physical condition of his troops as revealed in a letter he wrote, as early as January, 1780, from his headquarters at Morristown, New Jersey. At that time already there were signs of a breaking down of discipline for, as he wrote—referring to his own soldiers—"some, for their preservation, have been compelled to maraud and rob the inhabitants, and I have it not in my power to punish or reprove the practice". During the next five months conditions did not improve.

So straitened were the circumstances of the continental army that Washington, while still maintaining his headquarters at Morristown, wrote one of the most moving pleas ever issued by any commander.

In order to set the true picture before those to whom he was addressing his letter, he was compelled to employ the word most dreaded by any one in command—mutiny. To Joseph Reed, president of the Pennsylvania Assembly he wrote: "I assure you every idea you can form of our distress will fall short of the reality. There is such a combination of circumstances to exhaust the patience of the soldiery that it begins at length to be worn out, and we see in every line of the army the most serious feature of mutiny and sedition."

Paine as clerk of the Pennsylvania Assembly received and read the letter to the members. A gloom of despair prevailed. After five years of fighting, of privations, of self-denial, the message to many spelt nothing but the end of their hopes. The treasury was in its usual condition—nearly empty. There was however, sufficient to pay Paine five hundred dollars, his salary as clerk. While others only saw their hope frustrated, Paine looked upon Washington's letter as a challenge. Taking the entire sum due him, he subscribed it for the relief of the army.

His contribution, together with a letter from him, was forwarded the same day to Mr. Blair McClenaghan, a prominent merchant of Philadelphia. That same evening at the London Coffee House he read Paine's letter to several of his friends. Its contents were startling; they could not overlook the example being set by an impecunious clerk. McClenaghan and Robert Morris each subscribed two hundred pounds, and within a surprisingly short time three hundred thousand pounds were underwritten. This sum was used as capital to start the Bank of North America,

and through this means purchases for the army for the duration of the war were financed.

Something more, however, than occasional food rations and intermittant supplies of war material was necessary to restore confidence. Scarcely had the soldiers' hopes been revived by the successful formation of the Bank, than their cause suffered a disastrous blow through the loss of Charleston. Paine, in a private letter, stated that the city was captured, not through lack of courage or through cowardice, but because of a shortage of material and equipment. The loss was greater than it would at first appear, for Charleston enjoyed a far more important position among the cities of the colonies than she does at present.

Although with the formation of the Bank the patriot's financial position had somewhat improved, the treasury was far from being affluent. In a letter written about this time to Joseph Reed, Paine showed a fine grasp of the colonists' situation, as well as submitting sound reasons why the wealthy and landed classes should contribute in cash or kind to the war treasury. If, he maintained, the wealthy do not donate now voluntarily, a small part of their fortunes, the war might go against the colonies. The victorious British would certainly not be satisfied with a mere contribution but would endeavor to make the erstwhile rebels pay not only for the war but something in addition. "A rich man," said King James, "makes a bonny traitor."

By the turn of 1781, all actively engaged in prosecuting the war realized that it would be necessary to seek outside financial aid. The patriots were near the end of their resources. Congress, after due deliberation, finally decided to ask France for a loan. Nothing would, it felt, restore confidence among the soldiers faster and revive their drooping spirits than to know that some strong ally stood ready to help. True,

France had aided before, but all (including the French themselves) realized by weakening England in America, she was being similarly affected in Europe, and Britain was still her arch enemy.

Congress, at Washington's suggestion, selected young John Laurens for this mission. Why he was chosen is not quite clear. Although well enough informed on military matters, it was generally conceded he lacked the necessary training in diplomacy. Surely a very young man (27 years) upon whom to place this heavy responsibility. To have reported failure at this time would have been more disastrous than losing a whole campaign.

Although Paine never so expressed himself, it is highly probable that he expected that he be appointed. He was at this time beyond cavil one of the five leading figures of the Revolution.

Young Laurens might have possessed the poise, the elegance, and social background which Paine lacked, but since the latter had shown not once but many times his ability to think logically as well as to present forcibly supporting arguments, none could oppose his appointment for lack of fitness. On the other hand, Laurens' father, Henry, had been president of the Continental Congress and was still an influential figure in the councils of the infant nation. Washington, by sponsoring this honor for the son, might thereby have indulged in a political manoeuver that had for its object the strengthening of his support in quarters where ardor for the cause might have become luke warm.

Laurens was therefore greatly relieved when Paine accepted the offer to act as secretary of the commission. In fact, the young chairman would have declined to go had he not been able to avail himself of Paine's services.

Sometime prior to his appointment, Paine had writ-

ten a personal letter to his old commander, General Greene, confiding to him a plan he had in mind. Paine firmly believed that a large measure of his success in America had been due to a knowledge of England not shared by any of the other principals shaping the future of the revolting colonies. He felt that he was the best qualified to bring the American point of view to the English public, and expressed confidence that once it realized the situation in its true light, a disposition for peace between the two could be developed.

He planned to visit England incognito. While sojourning there, he proposed to present to his former countrymen true accounts of colonial conditions as he saw them while living there.

Recalling that, after Washington, the British government would have preferred no one more than Paine to grace a traitor's gallows, one must admire not only the daring of the scheme but likewise its sponsor's personal courage. Fortunately for Paine, he followed General Greene's as well as several other friends' advice and abandoned the plan. Incidents like this reveal Paine's ardor for his cause. Though no fatalist he was willing to go any length to advance his fight. Such zeal and enthusiasm cannot be self contained and in his ability to transmit his faith to others lay one of the reasons for Paine's great strength and prestige.

The commission to negotiate with France sailed from Boston on the frigate ALLIANCE early in February, 1781.

Paine's reputation as the author of the CRISES and COMMON SENSE had preceded him. On his arrival in Paris he was officially welcomed not only as the representative of the struggling patriots but for himself as an individual. Honors and attentions were showered upon him and it is no exaggeration to say that the secretary of the commission quite overshadowed the commission itself.

Life in the French capital was gay and buoyant. Mistresses, courtesans, favorites ruled; nobility and princes acted and the people paid. The idle and the rich were for the most part oblivious to the undercurrents which were seething below the surface. The groans and protests of the tax payers could not be heard for the music and the laughter. The storming of the Bastile and the débacle of the Revolution were yet to come.

For while Paine's invectives had been directed at the dull, stupid, lugubrious British crown the French court could be tarred by the same brush. France was the leader of fashion and foible; as she played, Europe danced, and all the while she was making merry with death.

Paine pleaded his cause feverently. Had not the Americans, under-officered, poorly equipped, with insufficient supplies, stood up and defeated the trained soldiers of Europe?

Using much the same argument Beaumarchais had so effectively employed years before, Paine emphasized not that the aid to the colonists was so essential, but rather played on the universal antipathy to England; of the opportunity to humble her, to seek revenge, to displace her as the world's leading nation.

In the negotiation young Laurens was of little or no help. Early in their mission, due probably more to his youth than intent, he had discredited himself by certain tactless remarks which caused the foreign minister Vergennes to complain.

The primary object of the visit was to secure loans and military supplies urgently needed at home. But would a Bourbon king be quite the person to help establish a republican government with its elimination of monarch and royalty? Such a horrible example might be followed by his own subjects with disastrous results to himself and dynasty!

Many of the shafts hurled by Paine in COMMON SENSE at the English king and family could with equal justice have struck the French. Paine evidently did not see anything incongruous in criticising, lampooning, and satirizing monarchs and princes and then, when pressed by necessity, accept aid from them. Would a ruler in whose blood coursed "I am the state" undertake to help form a system of government so diametrically opposed to his own?

Paine and Franklin (then resident representatives at Paris) were evidently able to allay any fears the king and his ministers might harbor about such danger for the French throne. The commission received two and one half million livres of silver as well as a ship load of munitions and clothing. Since it required sixteen ox carts to transport the supplies from Boston to Philadelphia their quantity must have been considerable. Getting so much from such a source was a feather large enough for any man's cap.

Together with Washington's manoeuvers and De Grasse's aid at sea, Paine must share in the credit of having helped to bring about Cornwallis' surrender. So low were the army's supplies, that without those secured by Paine history might not have been able to record a victory at Yorktown.

CHAPTER VI

Paine and His Inventions

Between 1776 and 1781 much water had run over the dam. The new nation, which Lincoln said "was conceived in Liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal," had been born.

Paine, who had been called its father and who later acted as its wet nurse, found himself, five years after its birth, not only unhonored but in sore financial straits. Unable to maintain adequately comfortable quarters, he was obliged to take shelter in an attic on Second Street, opposite the Quaker Meeting House in Philadelphia.

To young Laurens, with whom he was now on more intimate terms, he wrote setting forth his precarious financial position. The sum voted by Congress for the expenses of the mission to France was insufficient and Paine had been obliged to advance part of the expense from his own slender resources. For his services Laurens had been amply paid by Congress and restored with increased prestige to his former position on Washington's staff; Paine received nothing. That service of such high order should have been so scantily recognized is beyond understanding. Paine's pride prevented him from broadcasting his personal affairs and availed himself of the friendship of those in his confidence to whom he could appeal with dignity without reducing himself to the level of a mercenary pamphleteer. He felt he had dedicated himself to a lofty ideal, and had sacrificed opportunities to accumulate a competent fortune so that he would never

be under the stigma of having served the cause of Liberty for gain.

To him Freedom was sacred. For it he underwent hardships, lived the life of the common soldier, and at Fort Mifflin carried despatches in an open boat under the British guns at the risk of his life. His Quaker training and tradition forebade him making a profit from anything sacred. It is unfortunate indeed that anyone subscribing to such high principles should have been forced to endure the humiliation Paine was called upon to bear.

It is true that having arrived without capital, some might say that to find himself in that same condition would be no different than had befallen many others. For had not thousands jeojardized not only their wealth but their lives as well, in the same fight? It was not unusual for soldiers as well as officers to have gone long periods without pay, some even foregoing it altogether. No attempt is being made to belittle the effort of those in the fighting ranks but one should not lose sight of what Paine had accomplished. It was conceded by those best qualified to judge to have been the equal of battalions of fighting men. For one who had been a leader, and who had never failed the cause, to be reduced to penury and want was unfair and unjust. Had the colonies been a monarchy high honors, position and titles would have been lavished upon him. He requested something but demanded nothing. Petty jealousies ruled where generosity and gratitude should have.

His appeal to Laurens being of no avail, Paine wrote to Washington with whom he was well acquainted. In a rather lengthy letter he rehearsed his part in the Revolution, reminding him of the royalties he had foregone voluntarily. For his exposé of the Deane affair he likewise felt some thanks should have been expressed. Since America seemed reluctant to render

him some measure of reward he indicated to Washington an inclination to return to Europe. Although incensed by the neglect of the States, he felt he could there still be of service to the nation by favorably setting forth her situation before Europe where her condition and affairs were but superficially known. With much bitterness he remarks that, in a country that should be his home, he could not even find an asylum.

Three months later he wrote similarly to Robert Morris, in charge of financial affairs of the nation, again reviewing his services and disclosing that, aside from Washington and Laurens, none knew of his plight. This letter was followed by another to Washington about a month later asking the general to visit him at his rooms.

In view of what took place later between Washington and Paine this letter is reprinted here in full.

> "You will do me a great deal of pleasure if you can make it convenient to yourself to spend a part of an evening at my apartments, and eat a few oysters or a crust of bread and cheese: for besides the favor you will do me I want much to consult with you on a matter of public business, tho' of a secret nature, which I have already mentioned to Mr. Morris whom I likewise intend to ask, as soon as yourself shall please to mention the evening when."

Emphasis is laid again at this moment on the cordial and friendly spirit that existed between the commander-in-chief of the army and Paine, a private citizen without office or position.

As a result of this invitation Washington and Morris called on Paine in his attic rooms where matters of interest to the three were discussed, particularly the

subject of the next few Crises and the letter to Abbé Raynal.

The Abbé's work was written in French and then translated into English. While in the possession of the London printer, part of the manuscript was stolen and published independently of the entire work. This theft caused Paine to declare for an international copyright agreement. His is therefore the first stand taken for the universal protection of writers. In his essay he maintained that the originator of ideas has an inherent property right in them and which should be safeguarded.

Paine's reply to that clergyman's essay was based on the errors and inaccuracies cited by the latter in his observations on the American Revolution.

Fifty copies of Paine's reply were sent by Paine to Washington for use of the army and in acknowledging the gift Washington cordially thanked him. In his letter the commander also quite frankly expresses his doubt as to the British granting them unconditional independence, a matter then being discussed by the peace commission.

Even with the hostilities over, peace declared, and independence practically assured, Paine was still called upon to help form the union of states, he was among the first to visualize.

Rhode Island, because of its size, feared to join the union lest by so doing she would lose her sovereignity.

Paine's pen with its former skill not lost, wrote six articles in the Providence Gazette and Newport Mercury. The burden of his arguments was, of what value would the sovereignity of a small weak state avail alone against an aggressive foreign power? On the other hand being part of a large union was an assurance against unjust attack or invasion. Paine's

CHAIR USED BY PAINE WHILE RESIDING AT BORDENTOWN, NEW JERSEY

Courtesy Thomas Paine National Historical Association

(Photograph Courtesy William C. Poellmitz.)

views prevailed and Rhode Island joined the union, the last of the thirteen to do so.

With independence achieved, Paine felt at liberty to devote his time to his inventions and scientific research, diversions he had only too long denied himself.

At about this time (1783) Paine bought a small house with a correspondingly moderate piece of land at Bordentown, New Jersey. Here he had an old friend Colonel Joseph Kirkbride for a neighbor, and far from the excitement and turmoil of politics, Paine devoted himself to his inventions.

This is a side of the versatile genius that is often overlooked and more often ignored. Yet he perfected several devices of genuine merit. Among these were a planing machine, an improved crane, and a smokeless candle which embodies the principle of the modern draft oil burner. This candle had several channels running parallel to the wick. When burning they acted as drafts and prevented the candle from creating smoke or soot. Candles such as these are still sold in France one hundred and twenty-five years after Paine invented them.

The names of John Fitch, James Rumsay, and Robert Fulton are all advanced as the inventor of the steamboat. Although friends of each can support their claim, that honor is almost universally conceded to Fulton.

If time is the essence of such a claim, unbiased investigations will concede that Paine was the actual inventor.

Long before Fulton ever dreamed of cylinders and pistons, or Fitch had launched his steamboat (which he did in 1787), Paine had propounded the underlying principle of steam navigation, which was to develop the engine along the lines of the turbine.

There are papers in existence showing that Paine explained to William Henry, Jr., a resident and en-

gineer of Lancaster, Pa., his principle of applying steam to navigation. This took place as far back as 1778 when Paine lived with Henry while the American Congress was meeting at York.

Although civilized man has used China's invention of gun powder for hundreds of years, it has, with few exceptions, always been used to destroy or kill. Paine, however, visualized the latent power of gun powder and applied the principle of exploding successively a series of charges on the rim of a power wheel. Each detonation thereby giving an impetus to the master wheel which, in turn, transmits the movement to the rest of the machinery.

The power of the modern gas engine is gained by the successive explosion moving a piston and so imparting power to the rest of the machine. Paine, therefore, antidated the principle of the automobile engine by at least a century.

Recently a closer application of this device of Paine's, to obtain power direct from powder explosions has been used by Adam Opal of Dessau in a rocket train which enabled him to develop a speed of 110 miles per hour.

Such applications of his invention would unquestionably have pleased Paine. The use, however, of his idea of successive explosions as used by the German army for its Big Bertha shells, to visit terror and destruction on non-combatants behind the lines, would have met with his heartiest condemnation.

The irony of this situation is brought home when one recalls that Paine was always a staunch friend of peace. That his invention conceived for peaceful industry should be employed to make war more terrible would have given him little satisfaction.

Paine devoted more time to his invention of the iron bridge than to any of the others. Through its acceptance he had hopes of receiving a sufficiently large

enough income to permit him to retire and pursue those scientific investigations which were so dear to him.

With the assistance of John Hall, formerly of Leicester, England, a competent mechanic skilled in both metal and wood, Paine built models of two bridges, one of iron and the other of wood. Both bridges were submitted to Franklin at Philadelphia for his inspection and consideration.

Accompanying the miniature bridge Paine sent a letter explaining the benefits of his invention. He pointed out specifically that piers erected in the bed of the Susquehanna would not be practical for in order to sustain a bridge across the river it would be necessary to erect so many piers that the current of the river would be interfered with, and the navigable channel changed or modified with the attendant danger to the river traffic. His bridge would obviate the building of any piers. The load being carried by a high arch.

The knowledge of bridge building then used in America was naturally based on experience gained in Europe. On the other hand, Europe boasts of few rivers comparable with our Mississippi, Missouri, Hudson, or even the Delaware or Susquehanna. American rivers in season form huge cakes of ice which wind and current toss about with savage fury. Paine's pierless bridge invention greatly reduces the danger of bridges being damaged by these terriffic assaults.

Paine was in hopes of being commissioned to throw such a bridge across the Schuylkill River. The Pennsylvania Assembly, through its committee, took the proposition under advisement. The design of the bridge was duly approved in principle but nothing was ever done toward erecting it. Possibly the state of the iron manufacturers in the young nation was the real cause for the bridge never having been built.

Few today of the millions who use the great bridges

ever heard of Paine, and fewer still would ever associate his name with the bridge they cross. For his daring and ingenuity in the realm of mechanics mankind is once again under obligation to him.

CHAPTER VII

America's First Forgotten Man

With the cessation of hostilities and the treaty of peace signed, the young republic occupied itself with laying the foundation of its political structure. It had reason to be proud of its achievement and approached its problems with enthusiasm, vigor, and confidence.

Washington was hailed on all sides. Plans were set on foot for the new government. Everywhere hope for a bright future reigned.

Congress was in session at Princeton, and nearby it had fittingly installed Washington in a suitable mansion at Rock Hill.

No one appeared to have paid the slightest attention to Paine, who had gone from the height of public life into retirement with his tools and his ideas at Bordentown. One may justly lay claim to his having been the nation's first forgotten man.

There he was visited by Robert Morris, who urged Paine again to petition Congress for financial relief. Reveal, he persisted, to that body your share in obtaining the twenty-five hundred thousand livres as well as military stores from France. Let Congress know that while John Laurens was compensated, you did not share in that generosity. Remind it, he urged, of the many additional aids rendered and for which nothing has been paid, nor has anything even been offered or promised.

Washington showed more consideration for Paine than Congress. In a very friendly letter he invited Paine to visit him at Rock Hill. This invitation pleased

Paine greatly for it made him realize that there were still some in high office aware of the help he had rendered.

Washington's welcome was most cordial and Paine spent several days there, affording him an opportunity of making new friends and reviving old acquaintanceships. The friendly gesture by Washington was particularly appreciated by Paine since it threw into contrast the conduct of others in authority who seemed so ill disposed to treat him fairly.

On November 25, 1783, the British evacuated New York. With the enemy forces withdrawn and all danger of failure removed, the individual states as well as Congress took steps to establish themselves independent of foreign interference.

Handicapped as New York had been with the English in control it still gave indications of a rapid growth. While Philadelphia remained first in population and importance, there were signs that the city of Brotherly Love would be outstripped.

During the period of hostilities, the fortunes of war often fell heavily on many not actively engaged in bearing arms. Not a few estates, farms, and other properties were forfeited on account of the seditious activities of their Tory owners. Some were sold; others were allocated to patriots for outstanding meritorious services in lieu of cash.

Prompted by the desire to settle where he could move in an atmosphere congenial to his scientific bent, as well as mingle with people of consequence and culture, Paine wrote, on December 3, 1783 (about a week after the British left), a letter to James Duane, then one of New York's most influential citizens, setting forth his position and desires.

Being obliged by the exigencies of the war to move constantly about he never felt as though he had any permanent home.

This letter to Duane is a direct refutation to those hostile critics who have charged Paine with always seeking to be where England had a foe. In his plea Paine more nearly fills the role of one desiring quiet and peace than that of a roving political agitator bent on disturbance and discord. Those engaged in such activities are almost invariably footloose and do not show any concern for a permanent address.

December 3, 1783

My dear Sir:

As you and I have had conversation on the subject which this letter alludes to, and as your long continuance in Congress enables you to know how serviceable as well as how sincere and interested my public conduct has been, I should be glad of an opportunity before I leave town which will be in two or three days to converse a little intimately with you on some affairs relative to myself.

You know how I am circumstanced with Congress —my own opinion is that nothing withstanding, the wishes and endeavors of General Washington and many other friends that nothing will be done, as it requires a concurrence of nine states and there are one or two that will oppose everything relative to myself.

"It has ever been my wish and intention to *close the scene* with a History of the Revolution but the conduct of Congress puts it out of my power—and I have but two recourses left, the one is to apply to the States individually, the other is to go to Europe for as matters are now circumstanced it is impossible I can continue here neither do I think there is an instance to be produced in the world of an individual situated as I was acting toward a country as I have done for years together and that country acting in return as this country has done

by me—I am truly ashamed of it on her own account and conceal it out of her infant reputation.

"But there is one thing I wish to speak freely to you upon, which is that I have not yet a fixed residence in any state. Pennsylvania I have little inclination to as it is the seat of neither of Science nor Society.

"South Caroline is too remote as my wish is to be as central as I conveniently can. I should prefer a residence in the State of New York to any other place and as the state will have houses or structures to be disposed of she will have an opportunity of remembering a friend who has not yet been to America the expense of a private soldier.

"Perhaps was any one state to make a beginning it might have an effect on others—and as to myself I candidly tell you—I am tired of having no home especially in a country where everybody will allow, I have deserved one.

"If you will take an opportunity of talking confidentially with two or three friends on this subject and communicate to me your sentiments thereon I shall be much obliged to you.

I am
Dear Sir
Your ob' Servant
Thomas Paine."

at Mrs. Hamiltons opposite Fraunces Tavern

Paine's rather broad hint to Duane bore fruit. Within six months after sending this letter, the State of New York deeded him a farm of 277 acres declared forfeited by a Tory named Davoue. This was no abandoned, run-down affair but consisted of many acres of rolling fertile fields, some woodland with a stream. The farm was located at New Rochelle, Westchester

A PATRIOT'S HOME
Courtesy Huguenot and Historical Association of New Rochelle, N. Y.

Thomas Paine lived in this cottage after the Revolution. It has been moved from its original hilltop site and now stands beside North Avenue, near Paine Heights, New Rochelle.

County, about seventeen miles from New York City. It faced the main road running between New Rochelle and White Plains. On the farm was a commodious stone mansion which was unfortunately destroyed by fire some years later, while Paine was in Europe. Today, that same land has been cut by streets and developed for home sites and comprises some of the most exclusive residential sections of a now prosperous city.

Paine's observation in Duane's letter that once a start were made in rewarding him by one state, others would follow was confirmed.

A year after the New York grant, Pennsylvania showed its appreciation by voting him a gift of five hundred pounds currency of that state.

In the assembly of Virginia were many too who wished to recognize Paine's services. Owing, however, to his pamphlet "Public Good," there developed in that body too much opposition for the state to act favorably.

When the time came to set the boundaries of the various states making up the union, Virginia claimed all the vacant land on her Western border.

Paine, in this essay, opposed any such stand. He took the position that such lands were for future states and were the property of the entire Union. Owing to the claims of various land companies; other states demanding title to the land in dispute: and particularly that Maryland would not join the federation unless Virginia withdrew her demand that the latter receded from her position. The Virginia animosity toward Paine was not by any means unanimous. Washington interceded and wrote letters to Richard Henry Lee in support of the bill before the Virginia Assembly. Patrick Henry and James Madison also acted in his behalf but all efforts were fruitless.

Madison especially felt very keenly his state's neglect of Paine and expressed himself in a letter he

sent to Washington on July 8, 1784. In this communication he wrote commenting on the bill pending before the Assembly, "Should it finally appear that the merits of the man whose writings have so much contributed to enforce and foster the spirit of independence in the people of America, are unable to inspire them with a just beneficence, the world, it is to be feared, will give us as little credit for our policy as for gratitude in this particular".

James Monroe similarly wrote: "The crime of ingratitude has not yet stained, and I hope never will stain our national character. To the welfare of Thomas Paine the Americans are not, nor can they be, indifferent".

Because of his desire to defend the rights of the entire country against the unjust claim of the state of Virginia for this vacant land, he developed within that state implacable enemies and who now not only withheld their vote but opposed rewarding him for his service to the Union.

Despite the solicitous support of men so highly placed, Paine's single pamphlet outweighed all his labors, for as Richard Henry Lee reported, the grant for two thousand pounds before the Virginia Assembly was lost by one vote.

The pamphleteer during the course of his nine years in the colonies had expressed himself on occasions for the benefit of the many at the expense of the few. This was characteristic of Paine. Never once did he pursue a course which had a selfish end. He was ever willing to submerge his personal interests for the common good. Some of the enemies he aroused, felt justified later in acting in retaliation by withholding the considerations Paine had so justly earned.

Recognition of his services was not however allowed to die. The great leaders of the War period, Jefferson, Adams, Robert Morris, and Madison, real-

izing that the country was truly in debt to the author of COMMON SENSE were finally successful in forcing a bill through Congress.

The sum of six thousand dollars was tentatively agreed upon but even this modest remuneration was finally cut in half. Paine was indeed fortunate in receiving this from a Congress not at all favorable to the proposition of making him any financial recognition.

Without an examination of the complexion of the members constituting Congress, as well as the atmosphere prevailing, it is impossible to comprehend the callous manner in which all of Paine's pleas had been received by that body.

The membership was largely of the wealthy class who, while in favor of independence were fearful (and probably jealous) of the power of a man capable of writing works as effective as COMMON SENSE and the CRISES. They would much better have preferred a government based on "the stability of the monarchy" than this new untried experiment in democracy. To some, a hereditary ruler with royalty and nobility, with lords and ladies, was the only form of government in which they had any confidence. Skeptical indeed were many of this innovation in the realms of government. To them Paine was "too republican", "too radical", too apt to lead them out into unchartered seas. Was his leadership to be trusted? During a storm, any port. During a war, any leader. But they had peace; the enemy had departed, the danger had passed.

Another group in Congress were the "peanut politicians", men who could be swayed by partisan prejudice or small personal animosities. In such a far-flung nation as the United States was even in its infancy, with communication slow and uncertain, public opinion then counted for little, for distance and

time militated against its being able to exert its full pressure on the popular representatives. The powerful Virginia delegation in Congress too had not forgotten Paine's pamphlet "Public Good".

If we accept the estimation of Washington, Jefferson, and other notables of the Revolution, its success was due in no small degree to Paine. For his help it is true he received certain sums of money, also a valuable farm. Although he arrived unknown, when he left he departed with the respect, love, and confidence of a grateful nation, more valuable than wealth and not purchasable at any price. Taken as a whole, his rewards were probably more commensurate with the country's purse than a measure of the obligation it felt toward him.

CHAPTER VIII

Returns to Europe

Paine left America in 1787, intending to visit his parents and hoped to further the bridge project, which was then absorbing most of his time. His original plan was to stay not longer than a year. Instead, this visit grew into fifteen, crowded with danger and excitement. During this period, Paine developed into an international figure, as well known on one side of the Atlantic as the other.

On his arrival at Paris, Jefferson, then the American minister, greeted him warmly. This old friend had himself a flair for mechanics and science and was particularly interested in Paine's model of the iron bridge. The savants of the Academy of Science at Paris were quite overwhelmed by the model shown, disclosing as it did, an arch of from four hundred to five hundred feet. Never had they seen anything quite so daring yet they could find nothing wrong with it mechanically. Entered in a contest with other models of iron bridges submitted to the academy, Paine's was accepted as the highest, simplest and strongest.

While in Paris, he met many of the leading figures of the capital, among them the Cardinal de Brienne, the minister of finance. On him Paine undoubtedly must have made a very pronounced and favorable impression. The newcomer, fresh from the scenes of war discussed with the minister the waste and destruction of such activities, particularly when they originate because of greed or for the benefit of some dynasty.

In de Brienne he found a responsive audience for he shared what must in those days have been extremely advanced ideas. The loss of men, the waste of wealth, the unsettled condition, the stoppage of commerce, and the inevitable welter of taxes all seemed to confirm their belief in the emptiness of wars.

Under this spell of mutual agreement, Paine drafted a proposal of commerce and amity between France and Great Britain, which de Brienne signed. The document was personally delivered later by Paine to Edmund Burke then a leader in Parliament. Here was a stranger, unable to speak French, yet capable of impressing a cabinet minister so that he is permitted to draft a state paper between the world's two most powerful nations.

Perhaps it was Paine's enthusiasm for peace, a peace based on ethics, that gave him the strength and courage to convey some of that fervor to this minister of a strong military monarchy.

Paine was an avowed apostle of harmony and amity. but was no advocate of peace at any price. In defence of his principles, especially that involving Liberty, he would, as noted, fight not only with his pen but with musket as well. A war based on aggression was repugnant to him.

His return to England was saddened by his learning of the death of his father, which occurred just before he left America. He found his mother well but along in years and depending on the regular remittances from her son for support.

The quiet life at Thetford, after his strenuous years in America, appealed to him. He remained secluded there in retirement for nearly six months. Undisturbed by the roar of cannon, he mused on the futility of wars; of agression and conquest. From the peace of his Norfolkshire home he wrote: "War involves in its progress such a train of unforeseen and unsup-

posed circumstances, such a combination of foreign matters that no human wisdom can calculate the end. It has but one thing certain and that is to increase taxes. I defend the course of the poor, of the manufacturer, of the tradesman, of the farmer, and of all those on whom the real burden of taxes fall—but above all I defend the cause of women and children—of all humanity."

How regrettable that a copy of this creed was not nailed to the door-posts of the chancellories of Europe in 1914.

In England Paine was greeted as a great inventor and soon became the rage of society. His old status of rebel and traitor was for the time completely supplanted by his new role as creator of a world wonder. He arranged to have his bridge built at the iron foundry of Messrs. Walker at Rotherham in Yorkshire. He was in high hopes that a successful outcome of the building of the bridge would clear his financial skies, and he devoted most of his time to its completion. The structure, when finished, was one hundred and ten feet and was erected at Paddington Green London. There it was regarded as a great success many paying a fee of one shilling for the privilege of viewing it.

The engineering profession was astounded by the audacity of the venture and attempted to attribute its success to its inventor assuming risks bred of ignorance.

Stephenson said: "If we are to consider Paine as its author (iron bridge) his daring in engineering certainly does full justice to the fervor of his political career, for successful as the result has undoubtedly proved, want of experience and consequent ignorance of the risk, could alone have induced so bold an experiment, and we are rather led to wonder at, than admire a structure which, as regards its proportions,

and the quantities of material, employed in its construction will probably remain unrivalled".

The ill fortune that always dogged Paine's financial affairs cropped up here again. Not being able to finance the building of the bridge alone, he enlisted the aid of Peter Whiteside, an American merchant engaged in business in London. Unfortunately this associate became involved financially and in the examination of his books his assignee discovered an item of six hundred and fifty pounds debited to the account for the bridge. This sum was Whiteside's investment in the bridge building venture. The assignee ruled otherwise and demanded that Paine pay this amount into the bankrupt's estate. Without funds, he was very near going to prison for the debt, when two American merchants, Messrs. Murdock and Cleggett, ,also engaged in business in London, came to his his rescue. They signed his bond and paid the sum demanded.

The mechanical structure of the bridge was a success but the financial structure a failure. With its collapse, Paine's hopes of realizing sufficient wealth to live comfortably were dissipated.

While the bridge was under construction, Paine made a short visit abroad and the early part of 1790 found him in Paris. Although the Bastille had been captured over six months before, signs of the joy at its demolition had not yet completely vanished.

Lafayette prided himself that the tree of freedom, planted by the colonists, had borne fruit in France. He maintained to Paine that the American principles had been responsible for the destruction of the prison.

The French officers and soldiers who had served with the American forces, as well as the sailors of the French navy which had operated in the colonial waters, helped on their return home to make known the new idea of political freedom and liberty.

The marquis had obtained possession of the key to the main entrance of the Bastille and turned it over to Paine with the request that it be forwarded to Washington as a souvenir.

Mindful of his part in the emancipation of the colonies, the choice of messenger was a happy one. The President treasured the relic and regarded it as a symbol of the overthrow of despotism in France.

The key to the Bastille reposes today in a suitable reliquary at Mount Vernon.

CHAPTER IX

Economic Conditions Abroad

Many ask what latent power Paine possessed which permitted him, a writer without even a reputation, to wield such tremendous influence in shaping the cause of the American patriots? And, incredulously, they search for the inspiration which enabled him to return to his native land after an absence of thirteen years, and write a book that shook the oldest established government in Europe to its foundation?

Every agriculturist knows that regardless how good the seed may be, or how carefully selected, unless the ground has been properly prepared, germination and growth will be either uncertain or will not take place at all. The foundation for the American Revolution was laid by the English authorities, Paine handed the ammunition to a responsive people at the psychological moment. For nearly two hundred years that same government had been preparing its people at home for the bloodless upheaval the impetus for which Paine furnished in his Rights of Man.

During the early part of the Eighteenth century wages were not a matter of bargaining or based on supply and demand. As far back as the Sixteenth century magistrates in quarter sessions fixed local wages. Paine had in mind the law governing such decrees and other similar ones when he wrote:

"Several laws are in existence for regulating and limiting workman's wages. Why not leave them as free to make their own bargains as the law-makers are to let their farms and houses? Personal labour is

all the property they have. Why is that little and the little freedom they enjoy, to be infringed?

"But the injustice will appear stronger, if we consider the operation and effect of such laws. When wages are fixed by what is called a law, the legal wages remain stationery, while everything else is in progression: and as those who make that law still continue to lay on new taxes by other laws, they increase the expense of living by one law and take away the means by another."

In addition to such restrictions on wages there were other conditions obtaining in the Eighteenth century which were far-reaching and resulted in general dissatisfaction. These might have led to rebellion and insurrection.

The people's attention, fortunately, was diverted by wars and the peril in which Britain found herself. Later, the necessary reforms were instituted so that the danger of a revolt was avoided. But the menace had been there, and it had been real.

Paine's RIGHTS OF MAN exposed the sores and his book had a potent influence in shaping the British Reform Act of 1832, which for that period was regarded as quite liberal.

Along about the middle of the Eighteenth century the agrarian development known as the enclosure movement became active. Until then, the small yeoman farmers had used the unfenced fields and meadows for their common use. A community of interest protected all, and this class of citizen was regarded as the most solid, and independent group—the economist's backbone of the nation.

The enclosure restrictions aided an artificial back-to-the-land urge, brought about by the desire of those who had acquired wealth, either in Asia, India, or in the foreign trade with the American colonies, to set themselves up at home as large land proprietors

and in time acquire a title to fit such a station. These, fenced off their holdings for their exclusive use.

With the land thus withdrawn from his cultivation, the small freeholder had the choice of becoming a farm laborer at a fixed low wage or moving to the city. Putting a fence around the land was not unlike putting a rope around the farmer's neck.

To those who elected the first, it was a definite lowering of his standard of living. The healthful food of the farm was no longer available. Water or weak tea was substituted for milk and cream. Meat became a rarity, and whenever the price of bread was not forthcoming, the rural workers in desperation would raid the bake shops. Such outbursts were spontaneous and not organized by any group to foment trouble. Hunger knew no law. Those well stationed could not or would not understand and looked upon such actions as exhibitions of rowdyism and lawlessness which must be suppressed by all means.

Many of these dispossessed farmers had relations in the colonies in America. There, they knew, no such problems had to be met. Land could be had for the tilling. This could not help but intensify their bitterness. In contrast to this picture we quote from Paine's Crises X. "In America almost every farmer lives on his own land and in England not one in a hundred".

During the height of this unrest the greatest problem before the Crown was the imposition of taxes on its American colonies. This was the same government which at home was sponsoring and supporting laws depriving its own peasantry of their livlihood.

Other difficulties awaited the farmer who chose to migrate to the cities; they were soon swallowed up in the new industrial era about to begin.

The machine age had its origin during the same period. With the invention of the spinning-jenny by Hargreaves, the spinning machine by Arkwright, the

power loom by Cartwright, and the steam engine by Watts, production was speeded up; more goods were made by fewer hands, and fewer were employed. Wages declined accordingly. Lower, ever lower, fell the standard of living not only for the incoming farmer, but for the original city and village dwellers as well, and acquaintance with slums became the common lot of many.

The inevitable result of a surplus of labor and industry controlled by a few led to a new class of masters. The mill owner and large employer imposed on the common people, extended them little consideration and less pay.

The spirited, rugged independence of the individual farmer was gone. Cringing browbeaten paupers took their place. Many carried with them to the city memories still green of their new mown hay. Once proud that he did not share his thatched roof with any but his own, the former farmer was forced to slink each night into the hovel that he must then call home.

Crabbe in his "Village," and Goldsmith in his "Deserted Village" have left to posterity pictures of the English countryside of this period.

Unfortunate as conditions brought about by the Enclosure Acts in England were, they were not an unmitigated evil. With the aid of the new capital, acres long vacant and unused were drained and made over. The newly invented threshing machine, as well as the wheat drill of Tull, and other improved farm appliances, too costly for the old type farmer to buy, were introduced.

New methods of farming were employed, emphasis given to rotation of crops, and many antiquated methods that had been retained for no better reason by the son than that they had been used by the father were discarded.

In the industrial centers the pay of the men was pitifully small. To augment the family income and be able to feed the hungry mouths, women were compelled to enter the ranks of the toilers. Engrossed in slaving for the shilling, children were neglected so that infant mortality rose to alarming height.

So acute, however, was the demand for sufficient income on which to exist, that child labor was next introduced. Every mouth had to be fed, so every pair of hands had to work. Children as young as four years were set to tasks earning a few pennies a week. Later, when they were regarded as potential wage earners, infants at birth were put into nursing homes and given proper care so that the death rate fell materially. Like cattle today, they were kept and fattened for the slaughter. Everyone, young and old, was drawn into the inexorable industrial vortex to be fed to this modern Moloch.

Boys of twelve deprived of their birth right to the sun, the light, and fresh air, were employed to open and close the pit doors in the mines. In the factory children worked from twelve to fifteen and even eighteen hours daily. Should they lag, they often felt the cane or strap of the foreman.

While this condition was of common knowledge, few took notice. As an iniquitous institution not even Paine saw the exploitation of children as we do today.

Mindful of the broad humanitarianism that underlaid so much of Paine's activities, it is rather more than passingly strange to note that he did not regard child labor with the same abhorrence that we moderns do.

In both his RIGHTS OF MAN and in AGRARIAN JUSTICE he advocates systematic education of the young, apparently being satisfied that the child's general welfare and future would be safeguarded if opportunity for its education at public expense were

offered. Nowhere does he attack specifically the employment of children in industry. During the period in which he was writing that distressing practice was already well established. Of the injustice as well as its cruelty he could not have been in ignorance but seemed to have been afflicted by the blindness of his times to the horrors of child labor. His silence remains today a subject for speculation.

Driven off the land, the erstwhile farmers and their families huddled into the vile places they called home. Few in authority championed the cause of the laboring masses.

Occasionally a member in the House would sponsor some piece of liberal legislature curtailing the harshness of the Enclosure Acts. When these or similar gestures toward improving the oppressive conditions were offered in Parliament they were received by the grateful populace with satisfaction. They would take heart with renewed courage.

Very often the names of these members have not come down in history, but insignificant as they might have appeared in their day, it is no exaggeration to say that these touchstones between the people and Parliament acted as the safety valve for the British Crown. Through their action the people, greatly depressed, felt that there were still some in authority who had their interests at heart and were making efforts to assist them and ameliorate their condition.

The French people had no one to whom to appeal in their distress; they had no assembly to which they could similarly look for help, in as much as the States-General had not been in session since 1614. The safety valve for their indignation was missing with the result that when their fury became violent, the entire government was blown up.

John Wilke, through his disturbances, brought home to the people a realization of the injustice and

inequality of popular representation as then practiced in Parliament.

He never went, however, into the philosophy of representative government based on the inherent rights of men as Paine did. The former's election to and ejection from Parliament, served the purpose of focusing public attention on the manner in which representative suffrage in England had degenerated.

Simultaneously with the Colonial demand for representation in Parliament Wilke's campaign at home revealed the injustice of the existing system.

These two spheres of agitation were primarily for the same object.

The reason for the lack of favorable response to the urgent appeal of the American colonists for representation can best be realized when observation is made of the complexion of the membership of the Commons.

Although the House was ostensibly a representative body in actual operation, during the American crisis it was far from such.

Owing to a system which had become antiquated, Englishmen equal in number to the population of the colonies were themselves denied representation in Parliament.

The Rotten Boroughs continued sending members to the House based on former representation, long after the citizens had moved and no notice taken of the increase in population elsewhere due to the industrialization of the cities.

York with a hundred thousand sent two members: while Rutland with but one tenth was equally represented. Old Sarum, an abandoned site without a single voter, also returned its pair, the proprietors sending whom they pleased.

Just as it is impossible to expect justice from a biased magistrate, so neither could the colonists look

for relief from those sitting in Parliament who were themselves perpetuating a flagrantly unjust system. Many English voters knew they were being disfranchised just as effectively as the colonists who were protesting so violently against a similar disability.

Paine showed in his RIGHTS OF MAN that free men have other inalienable rights than legal representation and much found in that book served as the basis for the Reform Bill of 1832.

It would indeed have been surprising had not a people as demoralized and dis-spirited as were the masses in England of his day, been interested and stirred by Paine's book. He pleaded their cause as no one else ever had or could. His message was intended not only for members of Parliament but to every Britisher, everywhere.

So much has been written describing the conditions of the French citizenry prior to and during the Revolutionary period, that not only is their lot generally well known, but they have earned the dubious honor of having been the worst sufferers under an archaic social and political order.

The French, as a matter of fact, distressing as their position was, lived under the best conditions of any race or nation of Continental Europe. Bad as the circumstances were in England they were there beyond peradventure the best in all Europe.

France's difficulties however were of her own making. In an effort to replenish an exhausted exchequer those in authority directed a fatal economic course, to which all had to bend and which finally engulfed the entire nation.

From 1790 to 1796 France floundered in the throes of currency inflation. The astute and capable Necker withstood the pressure of the advocates of cheap money as long as possible but finally capitulated. To maintain the corrupt and extravagant French regime, the

government exchanged the labor of the workers as well as the product of its peasants for paper, which each succeeding setting sun saw worth less. So precipitous was the decline in value that acute distress and even starvation was not unknown.

The experience of the French was not new to Paine. He had himself seen the purchasing power of the fiat Continental currency of America vanish, until it bought nothing and possessed value only as a relic.

Except to those making a study, the conditions of the centrally located countries of Europe during this period are a closed book. There despotism of a cruel and barbarious order held the population in complete subjugation. No pretense of a representative government was in evidence, the individual only existed for the taxes he would pay, and for the spoilation he would bear.

So closely interlocking were the secular and the ecclesiastical governments that it was difficult, if not impossible, to tell where one began and the other ended. The subject had two masters and was given the impossible task of serving both.

Central Europe during the 18th century was a continual battleground. Wars based on dynastic ambitions, without any benefit to their citizens, were waged by monarchs, while their domestic affairs were often left in the hands of favorites and mistresses. Petty princes like the Landgraves of Hesse, to gain additional wealth, became "dealers in human flesh". Without their consent, the services of thousands of young men were sold to any warring monarch, a course that not unfrequently entailed the sacrifice of their lives.

To allow himself to be deprived of his liberty, his initiative and to be regimented as though possessing the will of a weakling as evidenced by the Germany

of today is apparently not new in the Teuton. Paine in his RIGHTS OF MAN confirms this further. Out of the mouths of one of the German mercenaries captured during the American Revolution he reports: "Ah!" said he, "America is a fine free country; it is worth the people's fighting for; I know the difference by knowing my own; in my country, if the prince says eat straw, we eat straw".

There is not a single instance recorded where such princely deals had ever been consummated to secure liberty: all their efforts were expended to keep other men in bondage.

Those hapless enough to have lived in Russia during this period suffered an even more miserable fate. There serfdom ruled with a brutality bordering on savagery. With so much disdain, did the ruling classes look down on the masses, that the nobility seemed to question whether all came from a common Father. Even that slight difference between serf and slave was denied them. The lives and destinies of the individual were in the hands of their masters.

Thomas Carlyle has called the 18th century a decadent century. Even boasting such names as Johnson, Goldsmith, Addison, and Steele in letters; Gainsborough, Romney, and Reynolds in art; Chippendale, Hepplewhite, Adam, and Sheraton in crafts; Pitt and Walpole in ministry; Lord Clive and the Dukes of Marlborough and Cumberland (Butcher of Culloden) in arms; Carlyle's characterization still holds.

For the workers (who have ever made up the majority of the population), their lot was a miserable and oppressive one. The masses became submerged lower than during the Middle Ages. All efforts were directed to keep them from sharing in the wealth they helped to create. Their patience was prodigious and equalled only by their capacity to suffer.

Who then can point an accusing finger at the French mobs for their excesses? It ill became a hireling like Burke to gauge another's distress, and condemn his cry for justice.

Paradoxical as it may seem, the latter half of the 18th century brought forth more improvements than in any similar period in the annals of history. Just as a pendulum must rise from its lowest point, so did the social changes start at the middle of the century for that was the nadir of Europe's retrogression. The first battles were not for new rights or privileges but were for the repossession of those it had held in the Middle Ages and of which it had been deprived.

The seeds of these changes were sown by Hobbe, Locke, Montesquien, Voltaire, Rousseau and others of liberal thought. The opportunity to do something more for the cause of human liberty they espoused than write, was probably never offered them.

To Paine, fortune offered favorable occasions so that in addition to writing he was able to take up arms, jeopardize his life, and even risk the gallows. Had Paine turned his steps to the East instead of to the West in 1774, the history of Middle Europe with its long outmoded forms of government might have recorded the disappearance of Czar and Kaiser and this generation been spared paying for their errors.

CHAPTER X

Paine Replies to Burke

Paine was at no time a doctrinaire. Prior to sailing to America, he had been all his life a working man. He well knew their trials and how political conditions affected them. On his return to England he found their plight wretched.

While his mind was not to be diverted from the original mission of sponsoring his bridge, the state of affairs of the proletariat aroused in him again the old antagonism of class.

Having seen the successful outcome of the American Revolution, Paine felt the democratic ideals upon which the new government rested should be employed elsewhere. He delegated to himself the assignment "to open the eyes of the people to the madness of the government".

His first effort in this new crusade was written while still at his mother's home in Thetford—Prospects on the Rubicon.

Its contents were directed against the war policy of Pitt and counselled amity and not enmity toward Holland. Against the imperialistic policy of the Prime Minister Paine's appeal was of no consequence. In this essay he dwelt on the futility of wars in general and presented with his usual force sound reasons for the position he took.

He regarded the people of France as beginning to think for themselves. The English had forfeited to their ministers that right and privilege and some, like the martially minded Pitt, would lead them into difficulties.

"Wars," he maintained, "were always popular with

certain groups, for they live from them. These clamor for hostilities and arouse the hates and enmities of peoples who should be friends and not foes. Such agents thrive on the woes of others and live from the animosities they help to create."

Having just passed through the miseries of a war, Paine could write graphically of the currency inflation and heavy taxation always in the aftermath of hostilities.

Within two years after the publication of PROSPECTS ON THE RUBICON the conflagration in France broke; and three years later, due principally to Pitt's opposition to the French Republicanism, England declared war on France.

Although COMMON SENSE had been written for America it had been translated into French. Rousseau's cry of Liberty and Equality was heard on every side. The successful conclusion of the American Revolution gave the malcontents courage. Increased taxes furnished the torch: the old system the fuel: the fire was on.

The effect of the storming of the Bastille by the mobs of Paris, the capture of the French King and Queen by the same element, was not lost on the British Crown.

To swim across the English Channel the distance seemed great; to cross by boat took several hours; yet at the time of the French Revolution the distance for news to travel seemed all too short. Such at least was Edmund Burke's reaction to that political uprising. Here, almost at their door, the English people had seen an apparently well established form of government topple over overnight. What a horrible example! Something must be done!

Burke decided to offset any rash attempt either to emulate the French or have similar moving doctrines take root on English soil, by writing his book REFLEC-

TIONS ON THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. This appeared in 1790. Phillip Francis, to whom proof sheets of Burke's work had been shown, tried to dissuade him from his purpose. Over the French Queen, Francis could not wax eloquent. Unable to catalogue "her as a Messalina or a jade", this critic expressed the thought of many when they too read the book. In royal quarters it was received though with much satisfaction. His monarch George III was extremely delighted.

Stanislaus of Poland sent Burke words of thanks and gratification. Catherine of Russia congratulated the man who denounced liberal French philosophers as miscreants and wretches.

Burke took it upon himself to defend the monarchial form of government. His book was intended to show his countrymen the error of the French. Had not Paine awakened a whole nation by his COMMON SENSE? Burke would do likewise; his cause was equally as worthy.

With an eloquence not unknown in the House, he expatiated on the virtue and goodness of the French Queen, who though through her arrogance and unfeeling could not see the misery and suffering of her people. Burke allowed his work to be influenced by his personal regard for Marie Antoinette. Her high position, her beauty, the elegance of her station swayed him. He was well aware of conditions in France and what had led to her disaster, but he could not erase from his mind the picture he had of the Queen when presented at her court years before.

"It is now sixteen or seventeen years since I saw the Queen of France, then the dauphiness at Versailles; and surely never lighted on this orb, which she hardly seemed to touch, a more beautiful vision. I saw her just above the horizon, decorating and cheering the elevated sphere she just began to move in—

glittering like the morning star, full of life, and splendor, and joy."

His solicitude for Marie evoked from Paine the now famous epigram, "He pities the plumage but forgets the bird".

Burke's defence of and deference to royalty confirms that in at least one respect East is West and West is East for supine fawning before a crown is universal. The great Whig leader's fulsome eulogy is but one step higher than the circumspection shown for his sovereign by a certain Chinese minister. That worthy servant invented the fan so that he might keep it before his mouth during royal audiences thereby preventing the air which the emperor might breath from becoming contaminated.

Burke justly condemned bloody excesses. He pictured France as being the land of distinguished soldiers, statesmen philosophers, poets, critics, theologians historians, and orators. To the existence of the peasants and the masses he was totally oblivious.

So much expressed in REFLECTIONS ON THE FRENCH REVOLUTION was at variance with principles Paine held so sacred that he resolved to reply to it as quickly as possible. Withdrawing from his usual haunts he retired to the quiet of Old Angel Inn at Islington, London, to write his answer.

Within three months of the appearance of Burke's work, Paine had written his reply, RIGHTS OF MAN, PART I. Its first issue, probably due to government pressure, died aborning, as only one copy, now in the British Museum, is known to exist. The next, although really the first, was published by S. J. Jordan, a printer and bookseller of Fleet Street.

RIGHTS OF MAN is now nearly one hundred and fifty years old, yet in all that time it has lost none of its power or vigor. It remains the clearest exposition of the philosophy of human rights as well as exposing

the absurdity of many accepted forms of political doctrines then current. Paine goes beyond the limitations set by Burke in defending monarchies and the hereditary rights based on the English Revolution of 1688.

Logically, he asks, how can a government originating through one rebellion condemn another revolution? Since when are the upheavals of the 17th century right, correct, and just, and similar disturbances in the 18th century only examples of error and iniquity?

If the Revolution of 1688 could create a dynasty, why could not another revolution with equal justice destroy another ruling family? Paine did not arbitrarily insist on any form of government; even a monarchy would be in order, if the people of their own free will, chose such a form of government; but it should not be perpetuated by hereditary. Accidents of birth qualify no one to rule.

"All hereditary government is in its nature tyranny. An heritable crown or an heritable throne or by what other fanciful name such things may be called, have no other significant explanation than that mankind are heritable property. To inherit a government is to inherit the people, as if they were flocks and herds.

"Hereditary succession is a burlesque upon monarchy. It puts it in the most ridiculous light, by presenting it as an office which any child or idiot may fill. It requires some talent to be a common mechanic; but to be a king requires only the animal figure of man—a sort of breathing automaton. This sort of superstition may last a few years, but it cannot long resist the awakened reason and interest of man."

Without resorting to rhetoric he drives home the same thought with "I smile to myself when I contemplate the ridiculous insignificance into which all literature and all sciences would sink were they made hereditable, and I carry the same idea into government. An hereditary governor is as inconsistent as

an hereditary author. I know not whether Homer or Euclid had sons but I will adventure an opinion that if they had left their works unfinished those sons could not have completed them".

To Paine, a citizen is born with certain inalienable rights which he can voluntarily surrender but none can abrogate. To have this inflamintory doctrine hurled at a government that held human life so cheap that poaching was a capital crime, indicated a defiance heretofore unheard.

"The rights of men in society are neither devisable, nor transferable nor annihitable, but are descendable only, and it is not in the power of any generation to intercept finally and cut off the descent. If the present generation, or any other are disposed to be slaves it does not lessen the right of the succeeding generations to be free; wrongs cannot have a legal descent."

The people, he maintained, should be consulted on all laws. He consistently advocated in America, England, and France that *a written constitution for the people* be drafted. He further ridiculed the "procedure of governing the living and those yet unborn by laws made for present generations".

Burke's adherence to the inflexible principle of hereditary monarchies, regardless of fitness, is not shared by Confucians. Over twenty-two centuries ago the Chinese sage's disciple Mencius indicated circumstances when a prince may be removed from office with justice.

"If princes have grave faults, the nobles and ministers that are of his blood ought to remonstrate with him and if he does not listen to them after they have done so again and again they ought to dethrone him."

Measured by this just doctrine, Louis XVI should have been deposed. His decapitation under the circumstances was cruel and unwarranted. The convention's action displayed neither justice nor reason.

CHAPTER XI

Returns to Paris

Wishing to study more closely and come into more intimate contact with the people whose cause he had defended, Paine visited Paris in 1791. That they happened to be French was secondary; he would have been just as much interested had they been Dutch, German, or Spanish, providing their problem was one involving human liberty.

While there, he renewed his friendship with Lafayette and it was he who burst into Paine's rooms that early June morning to awaken him and report the flight of King Louis XVI and Queen Marie Antoinette, "Burke's Birds". "The birds have flown, the birds have flown" was Paine's reveille that morning. The author of Rights of Man did not seem surprised and much to Lafayette's consternation only replied, "if they have flown, it is well, I hope there will be no attempt to recall them".

Although it was still quite early, Paine dressed, went below to the street and mingled with the shouting boisterous crowds. Everywhere the people were excited as nothing since the fall of the Bastille had so aroused them.

Translating the ominous signs of political unrest as a portent of danger to himself and family, Louis, at the counsel of friends, had sought safety in flight.

Acting on what was unquestionably poor advice, he left a letter denouncing all the liberal measures signed by him since October, 1789.

Four days later, June 29, 1791, Paine was present when the King and his family, captured at Varennes a

hundred and fifty miles from Paris were unceremoniously returned to the capital.

For the want of a nail, so the nursery jingle goes, a horse was lost. For the want of a cocade a life was nearly lost. Not realizing the importance set on the display of this decoration, Paine appeared that morning with it missing from his hat. Ruffians noted its absence and without any further ado proceeded to denounce Paine as an aristocrat. Of all men to apply that designation. At the cry aristocrat, "A la lanterne! A la lanterne!" was quickly taken up. Paine was roughly treated. His protestations made in English, that the omission of the cockade was quite accidental, availed him nothing. But for the fortunate arrival of a Frenchman able to speak English, Paine, the apostle of Liberty, might have ended his days ignominously dangling from the arms of a Paris street lamp post. What would have given his death more than a touch of irony was that aside from his being an ardent republican, he was in Paris to help bring about a change of the aristocratic government. Within a week that very post was placaded with the Republican Manifesto, which Paine and his friends had at that time in preparation.

Paine, evidently surfeited with the hectic life in Paris, decided the next month to return to London and participate in a celebration commemorating the second anniversary of the fall of the Bastille.

The Republic Manifesto of Paris had had its repercussions in London. There, owing to the pressure of persons in authority not in sympathy with Paine and the French Revolution, the owner of the tavern at which this meeting was to have been held, decided to close its doors and so prevented this gathering.

This was a strategic blunder on the part of those interested in frustrating the celebration. Had the assembly been permitted to take place, as originally

planned, the audience would have listened to a few speeches, indulged in toasts, and probably nothing distasteful to the government would have resulted.

The supression, however, of their meeting incensed Paine and his friends. To them it was another act of tyranny similar to the many which had preceded it and which were stirring the nation from John O'Groat to Land's End.

Restrained from commemorating the first step in human liberty in Europe since Magna Charta, the leaders were inspired to denounce those responsible for their forced silence and issued a defiant manifesto.

Had this meeting taken place as originally planned, none but the few on British soil interested in French freedom would have attended. Subsequently, however, on August 20th a meeting was held at the Thatched House Tavern in St. James St. by Paine and his associates. There resolutions were drawn approving the French Revolution, protesting against excessive English taxes and denouncing the arbitrary interference of the government which had hindered their previously planned peaceful assembly of August 4th.

Placards were then generally and generously placed throughout London and public attention directed to republican doctrines so that Englishmen were made to realize that their problems differed little from those across the channel. The proclamation was headed "Address on Declaration of the Friends of Universal Peace and Liberty". This was the first evidence that the spirit of the French Revolution had spanned the English Channel.

So inflamatory and revolutionary was this message that the government could not help but take notice. Active steps were taken to suppress the numerous republican and constitutional clubs that had sprung up in England and Ireland. RIGHTS OF MAN was their catechism and Paine their high priest.

CHAPTER XII

Completes Rights of Man

Conscious of the success of Rights of Man, Part I, Paine decided to present, while the enthusiasm was still high, those additional principles which he maintained were fundamentals with all free men and necessary for their happiness.

It is conservatively estimated that fifty thousand copies of Part I were sold before the second part appeared.

As Paine stated in his Part II, he had refrained from publishing it until he had been able to see the results that Part I had produced, and thus gauge the public's reaction. Even he, completely imbued with the spirit of the work, was surprised at its enthusiastic reception. Paine's fame as a writer of pamphlets both in England and Ireland was great, and his style of expression likewise appealed to a very large audience.

While living at Lewes, before sailing for America, Paine had known Thomas Clio Rickman and now took up his residence with him at London. Rickman was a publisher and bookseller and an ardent republican. Probably their community of interests accounts for the close friendship that existed between them and which was only terminated by Paine's death.

It was in the modest home of this friend that Paine wrote Part II of his Rights of Man. The work was dedicated to Lafayette whom Paine greatly admired and who shared many of his liberal views.

Dr. Moncure Conway, Paine's excellent biographer,

states that Paine's RIGHTS OF MAN is now the political constitution of England. From the time of the Magna Charta to the reform bills of the 19th century the British people bowed to the will of the nobles. Through the American Revolution, the Crown was rebuked. Paine's works awoke the population to their rights; they began to speak of them and later to demand them.

Although this thought was expressed by Paine in a subsequent essay, it had a distinct bearing on the critical situation with which England was combatting at the time RIGHTS OF MAN was being published.

"Inequality of rights has been the cause of all the disturbances, insurrections and civil wars that ever happened in any country in any age of mankind."

Speaking more specifically regarding inequality of rights he wrote in Part II: "Inequality takes the form of excess taxes on one class to be delivered to another it is only a matter of time before the inevitable day of reckoning".

It is a strange condition but true, that people will permit their rulers to abridge their political rights almost to the vanishing point and suffer in silence, but when the imposition of taxes becomes oppressive a determined opposition, often leading to revolt, develops.

Paine saw clearly the injustice of the current taxation of the masses for the benefit of the few and held up to public scorn and ridicule the pensions paid for sinecures to sycophants of the crown.

Writing of the salaries attached to purely nominal offices, Paine revealed that he too had been offered, presumably as a price for his silence, such unearned emoluments but had declined them, desiring to be neither a slave nor a master. "Independence is my happiness and I view things as they are without re-

gard to place or person: my country is the world and my religion is to do good".

In RIGHTS OF MAN we also have for the first time a definite plea for child education and welfare also old age pensions: two principles that it has taken the modern state nearly one hundred and fifty years to accept.

The printing of Part II was let to a printer named Chapman, who evidently had allowed the manuscript to be read by government agents. Aroused by the success of the Part I and mindful of the close proximity of the French Revolution both as to location and time, the authorities became alarmed. To suppress the work would necessitate court action with its attendant publicity. To follow such a plan, the authorities would be compelled to wait until the book had been published. In order to build a legally sound case against the author and publisher, the book must be in circulation. Court action would naturally not only have whetted the public curiosity as to the contents of this book, but would also arouse a desire to examine its predecessor. The dilemma had to be met.

The authorities wished to give neither circulation nor publicity to the book, yet they were extremely anxious to prevent its being released. They attempted a quicker if somewhat more costly expedient for its suppression. Before the work had been half printed, Chapman made Paine an offer of one thousand pounds for the copyright. This sum was so much greater than Chapman's financial position would permit him to offer in good faith, that Paine's suspicions were aroused and despite its unfinished state, took the manuscript from this printer and placed it with J. S. Jordan of Fleet Street, London, who had successfully brought out the Part I.

CHAPTER XIII

English Aroused by Paine

Rights of Man, Part II was offered to the public on February 17, 1792. Its success was instantaneous. Edition after edition rolled off the press. Between the date of its first appearance and the end of the following year a total of over two hundred thousand copies had been printed and sold.

A measure of its popularity may be gained when compared with Burke's Reflections on the French Revolution. This book had a circulation from its issuance to its author's death—a matter of seven years —of only thirty thousand.

Once having read Part II, the public sought to read Part I so that the sale of the earlier work was greatly augmented.

The purchase of the manuscript having failed, there was no course open to suppress it other than to proceed legally against those responsible for its publication.

Not much official attention had been paid to Part I when it had been released. The ruling classes in England felt secure and confident that no cataclysm could overtake them as had the aristocracy in France. There is nothing so insecure as a sense of absolute security.

It was, however, with the publication of Part II that the authorities took notice and were stirred to action. Paine's ridicule of the ruling family, his caustic satire on the uselessness of royalty and titles, and particularly his attack on the British constitution, brought him into conflict with the attorney general.

Heretofore, discussion on governments and parliamentarian problems had been written by and expressed for the intelligencia. Their authors never expected their works to come into the possession of those laboring with their hands.

Paine, however, spoke in terms that any one could understand. His text was simple, his logic clear and concise. He was anxious to have his messages understood by all and the simplest way was to speak them in the language of the masses. It is true that many whom Paine attacked read the work merely to see how shocking was this new doctrine and were more than prepared to scoff at it. On the other hand, the work was widely and plentifully distributed among working classes. The effect on them was such that the authorities felt compelled to take steps against Paine. He was duly charged with sedition.

After a free circulation of but three months, Jordan was likewise summoned. On Paine's hearing of this, he indicated to Jordan that he would undertake full responsibility.

The publisher, fearful of the penalties that would befall him in the event of a trial and conviction, compromised Paine by pleading guilty (unknown to the author), surrendered all notes, and received a verdict of guilty against the book.

One week later, a summons for Paine was issued, requiring his presence before the King's Bench. Evidently the government was having a severe case of jitters for it promulgated at about this time a Royal Proclamation against seditious writings. Manifestly the effect of Paine's work was being felt.

In the Commons, the authorities were questioned in debate concerning the proclamation and in the course of the discussion Henry Dundee, secretary for the Home Department, indicated that proceedings had been taken against the publisher Jordan, since Paine

the author could not be found. This was a flagrant mis-statement. Paine lost no time in sending the secretary an open letter. In it he reminded him that he still occupied the same quarters he had for the past winter and had not moved. Also, that as soon as he had learned of the indictment being prepared, he had instructed his attorney to put in an appearance for him.

Paine's impression that lack of good faith dominated the whole proceedings was fortified when Dundee made this palpably false accusation. The author also used the letter to Dundee for opportunely bringing to public notice matters that could not but have a favorable effect on his case.

By now the rift between Burke and Paine had widened. While the latter could not question the legality of the action, he could the sincerity of the motive back of the prosecution. Burke, seeing himself hopelessly outclassed in a controversy of his own creation, was undoubtedly the prime mover of the activities which had for their ultimate object the finding of Paine guilty of sedition and high treason.

Up to the time of the publication of his REFLECTION, Burke, had always been a staunch advocate of liberal thought. Before and during the Revolutionary War he advocated conciliation. Even during the height of the rebellion he had protested vehemently against the use of Indians to attack, maraude, and murder the outlying settlers. He fought Hastings in behalf of the defenceless East Indians, saving them from the rapacious plundering and exploitation by those sent to govern them. To his valiant stand for justice and humanity toward the weak in India, Great Britain owes over a century or more of loyalty in the East.

With the writing of his REFLECTIONS, Burke's whole outlook (at least so far as he expressed it) changed.

What if a mob of enraged and half starved French citizens had sought to right wrongs they suffered by methods not altogether orthodox? Was that sufficient reason for him to change overnight from a liberal to a reactionary? Sympathy for the oppressed is usually so fundamental that once established, it is difficult to eliminate. A man does not change his principles as a chameleon its color, for if he does he forfeits that title. All his life Burke had been impecunious. He was never free from financial worries. Had he sold his pen for economic security?

Paine charged that Burke had been receiving for the previous ten years an annuity of fifteen hundred pounds from the public treasury, and was being paid to employ his talents to keep a needless and costly monarch in power.

Gold may justly be called the Wizard's Wand, for with it tongues can be silenced swiftly, decisively, and, as in Burke's case, can make them wag eloquently, if not effectively. Nothing written carried so much weight as Paine's disclosures that the author defending royalty and the monarch was himself a secret pensioner.

The effect of this revelation was decisive; it helped to set Burke's declining star for he retired shortly thereafter with a pension from those whose cause he had so strenuously sought to defend.

The indictment charging Paine with sedition was an elaborate and involved affair. In order that the government obtain a conviction it was necessary for it to specify the points raised by Paine which were contrary to the law.

Mellowed by time, some of these seem today not only innocuous but lay England under a debt to Paine for having exposed some of her errors. Just as the free sunlight has a therapeutic effect on the sick

human body so has open frank discussion a corrective influence on the solution of political problems.

On June 8th, the date his summons was returnable, Paine was disappointed to learn that, at the request of the prosecution, his trial had been postponed for six months.

The landed classes the governing groups and the conservatives were by now, if not frightened, thoroughly aroused. Meetings were held all over England to protest against what they regarded as the rising tide of sedition and insurrection.

These assemblies were often presided over by members of the nobility, elevated to that station for favors and without regard to ability. This circumstance gave Paine opportunities to remind the audiences gathered in support of his ideals, of the civil lists honeycombed with sinecure positions maintained at public expense and filled by royal syncophants.

RIGHTS OF MAN, Part II created a profound impression. Clubs, societies, and other organizations were formed to debate and discuss this new order of citizen rights and privileges.

Many of the conditions which the populace had borne with equanimity they now recognized as forms of imposition and injustice. Influenced by the RIGHTS OF MAN, humble citizens found tongue to protest wrongs they had suffered until then in silence.

Societies for promoting constitutional information sprang up over night everywhere in England and in Ireland. Wherever a sufficiently militant soul could be found to head such an organization, one was formed to give impetus and circulation to these new doctrines.

Paine's RIGHTS OF MAN brought him not only fame but something not often associated with it. On being notified by Jordan that a credit for one thousand pounds stood on his books he followed a course similar to the one he pursued when dealing with the profits

from COMMON SENSE. Desiring nothing for himself, he instructed Jordan to forward that sum to the Society for Constitution Information in London for use in propagating the principles set forth in the RIGHTS OF MAN.

CHAPTER XIV

Flight to France

Just as the germ of the French Revolution had crossed the Channel to England, so now did the doctrines of Republicanism cross and innoculate the French with its virus.

Those who came into control of France after the return of the king knew little or nothing of a true republican form of government. That such a system had been set up in America was of course common knowledge. Representatives elected by the people of France had not sat in session for over one hundred and seventy-five years. A new structure had to be erected.

Within call was Paine, who knew more about republics than anyone in the entire French commonwealth.

Appreciating the pioneer spirit as well as the constructive genius shown by him in America and concious of his missionary work in England, four French departments early in 1792 elected Paine as their representative in the French National Convention then about to convene.

His selection was not merely a polite gesture. Common prudence dictated that it would be to their advantage to have as their representative one who had taken so active a part in the formation of the American republic.

The Department of Calais sent Achille Audibert to England to urge Paine to accept their invitation. He, however, was reluctant to do so, for he felt that having

started so auspiciously in England in promulgating his principles, he should remain and finish the fight for those rights.

Paine was particularly active in the society known as the Friends of Liberty which was in the habit of meeting regularly in the rooms of one Johnson. He was present at the last gathering and took an active part in the various discussions and is known to have made a short speech there. Although Paine had been active in national and international affairs for nearly forty years, he never became a finished public speaker. Capable of arousing huge audiences and even nations with his pen, he lacked the eloquence of an orator.

It was Paine's intention after the close of the session to return to his room as customary. Although it had become known that a warrant had been issued for his arrest, he was willing to risk imprisonment so that he thereby might be able to bring the battle for his principles out into the open. At this meeting among others were Johnson, Rickman, Audibert, Frost, and William Blake the poet.

Paine did not seem to be aware of his own precarious position. Despite his indicated intention of going home, Blake, urged by some presentiment of danger, counseled him that safety lay only in flight. Although one does not as a rule look to a poet for practical advice, Paine, much against his own wishes, acceded to his friend's pleadings, fled with Audibert and Frost, and reached Dover by an unfrequented and circuitous route.

To have remained would only have invited disaster, as it was the usual practice then for the prosecution to avail itself of "dinner juries", especially where guilty verdicts were deemed essential for the safety of the Crown.

The warrant officers, expecting to find Paine in his rooms, broke down the door. For their zeal they

had the dubious satisfaction of killing him vicariously by running their naked swords through his empty bed.

The Dover authorities had no instructions to hold any one, but for reasons of their own were rather suspicious of the trio so anxious to leave. However, their alarm was allayed when Paine impressed them with his importance by showing a letter signed by George Washington. It was not only addressed to the traveler before them but was couched in the most intimate terms. The warden was duly impressed and permitted the party to sail. It was indeed fortunate that neither telegraph nor radio had yet been invented, for not more than twenty minutes later, three pursuing horsemen dashed into Dover. But their quarry had escaped to France which gave Paine a welcome heretofore reserved only for those royal personages he had criticized and denounced.

His arrivel at Calais was the signal for a salute from the shore battery. Crowds cheered, flags waved, The mayor gave him an official welcome. At the meeting of the Constitutional Society of Calais he was given, despite his staunch republicanism, a "royal welcome". What especially pleased him at this official notice of his election as Calais representative was the sight of the English, French, and American flags entwined, so symbolical of a successful outcome of Paine's battle for a universal Liberty and Freedom.

The reception at the port was not unique, for at every town on his journey to the capital similar expressions of welcome and joy greeted the apostle of the rights of man, whose life had been saved by but a few short minutes.

CHAPTER XV

Defence of Louis XVI

Louis XVI, on the death of his grandfather Louis XV, in 1774, ascended the throne while only a youth of twenty years. Although his mind lacked distinction and his will determination, he was animated by a high sense of duty. From the throne he declared: "It is our paramount wish to make our people happy", a rather assuring statement from an absolute prince. His appointment of Turgot and later Necker (as ministers of finance) seem to bear out his early admirable intention.

In personal appearance he was unprepossessing, awkward and ill at ease. For the monarch of one of the most militant powers of Europe, he was woefully lacking in a knowledge of the science of war. Mentally he was never equal to his high position and soon lost control of his affairs, which passed into the hands of his ministers or his vivacious queen.

He would much rather have busied himself with mechanics and tools than be occupied with the machinery of government. In fact, instead of becoming a competent ruler—which might have saved his neck—he became an expert locksmith, which indirectly led to the loss of his head.

If there ever lived a monarch who exemplified the folly of the principle of hereditary succession, Louis XVI was a shining example. Himself incompetent, his queen the real ruler, was totally callous to everything but her own pleasures. His ministers suppressed or withheld reports of the true condition of the country.

Affairs went from bad to worse. The fall of the Bastille; the capture of the royal family at Versailles and its return to Paris; its attempt at flight and the second return from Varennes, and its incarceration in the Temple need no rehearsing here.

The convention was called to order September 21, 1792. Paine attended its opening session. He was greatly impressed with the air of equality and fraternity that prevailed. The members felt their independence and their responsibility; they were no longer subservient to monarch or royalty.

The ostensible purpose of the assembly was to frame a constitution based on broad and liberal lines. All were acquainted with Paine's influence in shaping colonial thought prior to the writing of the American constitution. Consequently it was only natural that he be appointed to the committee charged with the actual work of drafting the French organic law. Because of his lack of French, he was not made the chairman, that honor going to Sieyes.

Having witnessed the disturbance in monarchical France due to the absence of a written constitution, he emphasized the need of one.

"America has the high honor and happiness of being the first nation that gave to the world the example of forming a written constitution by convention elected expressly for the purpose and of improving them by the same procedure as time and experience shall show necessary. Governments in other nations vainly calling themselves civilized have been established by bloodshed. Not a drop of blood has been shed in the United States in consequence of establishing constitutions and government by her own peaceful system."

Although Paine was not a member of the convention which drafted the American constitution he was in close touch, during its session, with Jefferson and

other leaders. These often conferred with him so that it is not giving Paine more credit than is due him to say that his influence and judgment weighed considerably with the members of the drafting committee.

Of the American constitution Gladstone said, "it is the most wonderful document of this kind that was ever struck off at a single time by the brain and purpose of man".

While the drafting of the constitution was offered as the reason for its convening, the real problem before the French National convention was the disposal of the captive king.

Already one party had resolved to have the monarch pay the supreme penalty. Louis XVI is regarded now as having been weak and unpopular, and a willing tool in the hands of his ministers: hardly worth the trouble of keeping him prisoner.

The well nigh universal feeling against him was intensified when French arms were unable to prevail against the Austrian army of Francis II. This changed Marie Antoinette in the eyes of her people from her being their French Queen to that of the hatred Autrichienne. The public abhorrence of her was reflected in its attitude toward Louis.

Paine from the very start opposed any violent action against the royal family. He well knew the fury of the people now directed at the grandson was for misdeeds of the grandfather.

Bitter as the people felt toward their king, there is every reason to believe that some punishment short of death would have been meted out but for a single unfortunate episode.

The convention had been in session for two months when, on November 20, it was thrown into an uproar by the report that Roland, (husband of the lady who was destined to immortality for a remark concerning crimes and liberty), had discovered certain incrimin-

ating documents in the king's private apartments in the Tuileries.

Employing his own skill as a locksmith, Louis had made, aided by one Gomain, a private hiding place for his personal papers in a secret compartment closed by an iron door in a wall of the royal suite. His associate, fearing the consequences of those then in power, for his aid, revealed the cache. In the vault over six hundred documents and letters had been secreted. Nothing so inflamed the members as Louis' letter to the Bishop of Clermont, saying "if he ever recovered his power, he would re-establish the ancient government and the clergy in all their former privilege".

The contents of the private vault compromised Louis so grievously that his closest friends despaired then of saving his life. The papers disclosed further that the king had been carrying on secret intrigues and was in close communication with royalists outside of France as well as negotiating with certain foreign powers for armed interference. A wave of fury and indignation swept from one end of Paris to the other.

That night in his apartment, Paine wrote (in English for he knew very little French) a letter addressed to the president of the Convention in behalf of the king. He must have known that any effort would be futile. The letter savoured of quixotic idealism, yet he was able to quote the cold realities of history to support him in his plea that banishment was tantamount to suppressing the dynasty.

But eleven short years before, the king now stripped of all power had put in Paine's hands the means which enabled Washington to convert a collection of struggling colonies into a new nation. Paine's deep sense of gratitude gave him added strength for it required

courage of a high and lofty order to cross those who now had sworn revenge.

The next morning the Marquise de Condorcet translated the message and it was read before the convention.

Anyone, no matter how exalted his station, might well have been proud of Paine's effort. Doomed to failure, he nevertheless presented his case with a fine spirit based on gratitude, appreciation, and broad humanitarianism.

Paine's letter as read to the assembly is offered herewith:

"Let then those United States be the guard and the asylum of Louis Capet. There, in the future, remote from the miseries and crimes of royalty, he may learn, from the constant presence of public prosperity, that the true system of government consists not in monarchs but in fair, equal, and honorable representation. In recalling this circumstance, and submitting this proposal, I consider myself a citizen of both countries. I submit it as an American who feels the debt of gratitude he owes to every Frenchman. I submit it as a man who, albeit an adversary of kings, forgets not that they are subject to human frailties. I support my proposal as a citizen of the French republic, because it appears to me the best and most politic measure that can be adapted. As far as my experience in public life extends,, I have ever observed that the great mass of people are always just, both in their intentions and their objects but the true method of attaining such purpose does not always appear at once. The English nation had groaned under the Stuart despotism. Hence Charles I was executed: but Charles II was restored to all the powers his father had lost. Forty years later the same family tried to re-establish their oppression: the nation banished the whole race from its territories. The remedy was effec-

tual. The Stuart family sank into obscurity, merged itself in the masses, and is now extinct.

"It has already been proposed to abolish the penalty of death, and it is with infinite satisfaction that I recollect the humane and excellent oration pronounced by Robespierre on the subject, in the constituent assembly. Monarchical governments have trained the human race to sanguinary punishments, but the people should not follow the examples of their oppressors in such vengeance. As France has been the first of European nations to abolish royalty, let her also be the first to abolish the punishment of death, and to find a milder and more effectual substitute". Referring to this speech Madame de Stael remarked that "Paine proposed what would have done France honor to accept—the offer to the king of an asylum in America".

In asking for the king's banishment to America, Paine had no idea of installing him in a Valhalla across the sea. He wished to show the world a new philosophy advocating the doctrine: "Let us punish by instruction rather than by revenge".

With the perfidy of the king exposed, the hands of Marat and his cohorts were strengthened. Even with the opposition greatly weakened they felt an invisable restraining hand and delayed taking any decisive step.

Thus for nearly two months was the examination and trial drawn out although those in favor of execution could at any time have forced a decision. Many in the convention had participated in the overthrow of the Bastille, had laid violent hands on the royal family at Versailles or on their return from Varennes. However, the respect or the awe for the office of king was such that even those loudest in their denounciation hesitated sending their monarch to the block. Civilized people, no matter how grossly wronged, cannot be

made lawless overnight, any more than the wicked can be made law abiding by decree.

Finally, past the middle of January, with all the evidence submitted and with further procrastination no longer possible, the trial reached its inevitable climax and the order for the final vote was given.

The nineteenth of January came, bleak and cold. Even the heavens seemed to forebode the impending drama. Long before the chimneys and their smoke were silhouetted against the dawn, or the first rays had pinked the eastern sky, excited groups gathered in the streets of Paris. To these were added others from the taverns who had spent the night drinking and carousing, in order to be awake and on hand for the show.

The early hours of the morning brought out the usual parade of vehicles and of laborers who, instead of starting their daily tasks, sang the already popular Marseillaise or shouted vile imprecations at their king and queen. The noise made by the horses drawing their trumbils, some empty, some with casks or merchandise, was added to the commotion. Above all could be heard the curses of the drivers and the crack of their whips.

Soon each corner became a pulpit for some demagogue who harangued the crowds and exhorted them to violence and hate. Just as though a mother with half starved children at her side or some father who had been taxed almost into the poor house needed any persuasion.

Those of the Mountain did all they could to foment rage against the king. From the rural departments messages were received by their delegates in the convention demanding their representatives stand firm for justice or, as some would say today, revenge.

To the inflamatory speeches of the street orators, parades with litters bearing the wounded victims of

the August massacres were added. Those carried, as well as their bearers, demanded the death of the king.

Hours before the time set for the opening of the session, the streets around the Temple and the Convention Hall were impassable. Many of these same people had been part of the mob which stormed the Bastille and participated in the rush to Versaille. Gone was the feeling of fear and despair. They now felt strong. Had not the Bastille fallen before them? Had not those who fled been caught, returned, and were now their prisoners?

Inside the hall the deputies took their seats in orderly fashion. The galleries were crowded with men, women, and even children. Through the closed windows and doors the ominous cry of the bloodthirsty and aroused rabble outside could be heard distinctly.

One would imagine that with a man's life at stake some degree of dignity would be maintained during the trial. Quite conversely the hall had an air of gaiety little short of revelry. At the far end, stalls had been erected for the ladies to whom ices, sweets, and liquors were served. Acquaintances in nearby boxes were bowed to and saluted. The atmosphere was not unlike that prevailing at the opera or upon the premiere of a new play.

Thomas Paine commanded the respect and esteem of the members. At the call of his name he arose, walked slowly to the rostrum, and faced the assembly with Bancal at his side.

No one knew what was to happen. A strange tension gripped those assembled. Paine must have realized that any attempt to save the King would be futile. He could not however, erase from his mind the recollection of the help rendered by the man whose life was now in danger. Paine had faced danger many times for his ideals. Another menace, he knew, threat-

ened him now. For him the picture of a foolish king who had allowed himself to be the tool of intrigue, was eclipsed by the former picture of this same monarch acting as the friend of America. Without that aid the war might have dragged on indefinitely and ultimately ended in defeat. He now saw that friend in peril and without any regard for himself decided to help, even at great personal risk.

To aid in the saving of one who had acted as a saviour of his cause, was a duty to Paine. That the property donated had been that of the French people probably never occurred to Paine. To him Louis Capet had assisted; gratitude could best be expressed by service.

The day before, when his name had been called for a test vote, Paine had risen and shouted in French, "I vote for the detention of Louis until the end of the war and after that, his perpetual banishment". And while it had influenced some, the majority were in favor of the death penalty. Some of the members had themselves been threatened with a fate similar to that awaiting the king should they not vote for his death. This was the day on which the final vote sealing the fate of the king was to be taken.

Hardly had the secretary started reading Paine's address when Marat, livid with rage, demanded that on account of Paine's Quaker origin he was not competent to pass on a death sentence.

Pandemonium broke loose not only on the floor but in the galleries as well. Receiving sufficient encouragement from Marat their leader, vile epithets, catcalls, curses, oaths such as only the scum of the gutters can give breath to, filled the air. Deputies arose in all parts of the hall. Some demanded silence. Others insisted on Paine's inviolate right of free speech.

He replied to Marat's charge that "I voted against it, both morally and politically".

When the noise had subsided, the secretary again read Paine's speech:

"Very sincerely do I regret the convention's vote of yesterday for death. I have the advantage of some experience: it is nearly twenty years that I have been engaged in the cause of liberty, having contributed something to it in the Revolution in the United States of America. My language has always been that of liberty and humanity, and I know by experience that nothing so exalts a nation as the union of these two principles, under all circumstances. I know that the public mind of France and particularly that of Paris has been heated and irritated by the dangers to which they have been exposed, but could we carry our thoughts into the future when the dangers are ended and the irritations forgotten, what today seems an act of justice may then appear an act of vengeance. (Murmurs). My anxiety for the cause of France has become for the moment concern for her honor. If, on my return to America, I should employ myself on a history of the French Revolution, I had rather record a thousand errors dictated by humanity than one inspired by a justice too severe. I voted against an appeal to the people because it appears to me that the convention was needlessly wearied on that point; but I so voted in the hope that this assembly would pronounce against death, and for the same punishment that the nation would have voted, at least in my opinion that is, for reclusion during the war and banishment thereafter. This is the punishment most efficacious because it includes the whole family at once and none other can so operate. I am still against the appeal to the primary assemblies because there is a better method. This convention has been elected to form a constitution which will be submitted to the primary assemblies. After its acceptance a necessary consequence will be an election and another assembly. We cannot suppose that the

present convention will last more than five or six months. The choice of new deputies will express the national opinions on the propriety or impropriety of your sentence, with as much efficacy as if those primary assemblies had been consulted on it. As the duration of our functions here cannot be long, it is a part of our duty to consider the interests of those who shall replace us. If by any act of ours the number of the nation's enemies shall be needlessly increased, and that of its friends decreased—at a time when the finances may be more strained than today—we should not be justifiable for having thus unnecessarily heaped obstacles in the path of our successors. Let us therefore not be precipitate in our decisions.

"France has but one ally—the United States of America. That is the only nation that can furnish France with naval provisions, for the kingdoms of northern Europe are, or soon will be at war with her. It happens unfortunately that the person now under discussion is regarded by Americans as having been the friend of their Revolution. I can assure you that his execution will then spread universal sorrow, and it is in your power not thus to wound the feelings of your ally. Could I speak the French language I would descend to your bar, and in their name become your petitioner to respite the execution of the sentence on Louis."

At this point Marat must have sensed that Paine's argument might still prevail and his quarry escape the guillotine. Rising, and quite beside himself with rage, he demanded that the translation being read was not a true one, that a spurious speech was being offered. He well knew no one, either in or out of the convention could write as strong a message but felt if he could but distract the members' attention from the speech, its effect would be lost.

At his interruption the wild scenes of but a few

moments before were repeated. Finally, with a semblance of order restored, Garren declared the translation a true one. The president of the convention thereupon ordered it to be finished.

"Your executive committee will nominate an ambassador to Philadelphia. My sincere wish is that he may announce to America that the National Convention of France, out of pure friendship to America, has consented to respite Louis. That people, your only ally, ask you by any vote to delay the execution.

"Ah! citizens, give not the tyrant of England the triumph of seeing the man perish on the scaffold who helped my much-loved America to break his chains."

Long before the final vote was taken the decision of the assembly could have been correctly forecasted without much doubt. Intimidation ruled more potently than reason or justice. The galleries were packed with Marat's partisans. There each vote was recorded by a pin prick on cards. No restraint was put on the vociferous approval or disapproval of the recorded votes. Every deputy knew that his future, his life perhaps, depended on how he voted. Many honestly believed it best for the nation that Louis die; but others declared against him through fear or terror.

By final vote, his life was declared forfeited; he was to be guillotined the next day.

On the scaffold Louis displayed more courage than at any time in his entire career. At the last moment he manifested a desire to address the crowd. Sauterre an erstwhile butcher in charge of the guard thereupon ordered the drums to roll to drown his words. The executioner and his assistants worked more rapidly than usual. The soldiers had been instructed that should any attempt be made to rescue Louis, they should shoot to kill. The executioners, not relishing the idea of being possible targets, worked with greatest despatch.

With his head in the basket came the end of a man who had been one of America's most valuable friends.

The loss of Louis XVI might not have been great to France but the result of his trial had a far-reaching effect on the country. Without this example of "judicial murder" before them, the subsequent flood of executions might never have taken place and France spared the holocaust, history labels the Reign of Terror.

CHAPTER XVI

Paine Tried for Sedition

Prior to December 18, 1793, the date set for his trial in London, Paine issued a pamphlet bearing the title of Letters to the Addressers. In it he expressed himself with his usual audacity, decrying the corruption of governments and their attempt to keep the masses in ignorance. In this booklet he stated that "It is a dangerous attempt in any government to say to a nation: 'thou shalt not read' ". Censorship; suppression of newspapers and even the burning of books are weapons of dictators. These result in mental sterility so that like in a stagnant mill pond the scum rises to the top.

Another quotation from this same pamphlet carries much of Paine's philosophy of life and indicates the goal he had set for his efforts. Truly a staggering program: one that would have disheartened a less intrepid crusader.

"If to expose the fraud and imposition of monarchy and every species of hereditary government—to lessen the oppression of taxes—to propose plans for the education of helpless infancy, and the comfortable support of the aged and distressed—to endeavor to conciliate nations with each other—to extirpate the horrid practice of war—to promote universal peace, civilization and commerce—and to break the chains of political superstition, and raise degraded man to his power rank—if these things be libellous, let me live the life of a libellor and let the name of libellor be engraved on my tomb."

The agitation against Paine in England was not permitted to flag. His person not being available, his enemies burned him in effigy. The authorities did nothing to stop such practices as it helped to create public sentiment against him.

By December the RIGHTS OF MAN was being issued in many cheap editions, and as some of his critics reported, "so modestly priced, was it, that it only needed the desire to buy a copy". Had its circulation been less widely spread, especially among the lower classes, Paine's trial would no doubt have been postponed repeatedly until the indictment would all but have been forgotten. The government wished by all means to avoid the publicity of a trial.

With the contents of the RIGHTS OF MAN becoming better known daily among the working classes in England comparable with those of France responsible for the French Revolution, the government's hand was forced and the trial began on the date set.

The authorities were determined to win a favorable verdict, for defeat would have invited disaster. Taxes were high, corruption rampant, and agitation active: all the motives for the duplication of the French upheaval on English soil were at hand.

Wishing to assure itself of the outcome of the trial upon which it felt so much depended, the government ordered that Paine be tried before a special jury. A "Special Jury" in those days was a hand picked affair, commonly known as a "dinner jury". The jurors bringing in a verdict of guilty were each paid two guineas and a dinner; for an acquittal, only one guinea and to bed without dining. It is not revealed why hungry jurors were so often empaneled, but the predominance of guilty verdicts of these special juries shows that to have been the practice.

The trial, however, took place without Paine being present. At its opening, he sent a letter from Paris

to the Attorney General which when read into the records, brought to the attention of the jury certain facts that could have been brought to their attention in no other manner.

Thomas Erskine, Paine's attorney, claimed it a forgery and protested against its introduction. The style, and the subject chosen, were so unmistakably Paine's that the court disallowed Erskine's protest, and directed that it be read.

The sending of the letter was not only an impudent move, but must be conceded by Paine's friends, one of those several indiscretions which were not only costly to his career, but his reputation as well.

If Paine in his best judgment thought it advisable to send a letter to the Attorney General, he might have at least put himself in as favorable a light as possible. Instead of confining himself to the case at issue, he used the letter to heap abuse on the English government as well as their king, referring to him and the princes as "Mr. Guelph and his profligate sons."

Whether they were dissolute or not was not the question before the court; neither was the moral standing of the government. Dragging these extraneous matters into his trial created a decidedly unfavorable impression.

Erskine made a very effective defence with the poor timber left. He emphasized the ancient English right of free speech and thought, and without being handicapped by the compromising letter of his own client, might have been able to overcome even the disadvantage of a special jury. From material in the RIGHTS OF MAN Erskine had much upon which to appeal for justice and fair play. Paine threw his case away with his letter.

At the conclusion of its reading, the foreman of the jury arose and interrupted the proceedings and

addressed the judge. "My Lord, I am authorized by the jury here to inform the attorney general that a reply is not necessary for them unless the attorney general wishes to make it, or your lordship". The Attorney General sat down, and the jury rendered its verdict: "Guilty".

There was no need even for the Attorney General to reply. Prejudiced, one might say? Yes, but a prejudice that the defendant had created and invited.

With the verdict "guilty", Paine became an outlaw.

Now that his legal status had been established, the government proceeded against all those selling or publishing Paine's works. Some were imprisoned, others fined, and still others exiled to penal colonies, for no greater crime than handling books that are today regarded as part of the basic literature on political science. Without a copy of RIGHTS OF MAN no library is complete; without a study of it no student's course is finished.

Paine's friend, Rickman, was prosecuted for publishing his works, but in order to avoid arrest, sought safety in flight to Paris and there renewed the friendship so abruptly terminated the night of Paine's precipitous departure for France.

With the authorities giving by their silence, their tacit consent, Paine was the target for a campaign of vilification and abuse. Burnt in effigy, the subject of ribald songs and cartoons, his name was soon on every tongue. People who never had, nor ever could, read his works joined with the rest. In a short time Paine became known throughout all England and Ireland.

He had lost his trial, but won his case. Much of the liberal influence of subsequent English law can be traced to this outlaw.

Within the bounds of the book the English strove so strenuously to suppress are discussed two of the

most pressing problems before present day governments.

Thomas Paine in his RIGHTS OF MAN was the first to offer the world the idea of a league of nations in the modern sense, for the preservation of international peace. Experience indicates that a strong and enforcing league based on equality, justice and free government is apparently the only means of maintaining universal peace. Balance of powers; spheres of influence; one powerful state dominating weaker ones and other schemes of diplomats have shown themselves futile. A hopeful and trusting world may yet see the plan suggested in principle by Paine be effectively employed. Nineteen years ago a war weary world hailed the League of Nations as the panacea for international harmony. That it turned out to be only a Fata Morgana is unfortunate. However, so many other principles Paine proposed were at first rejected, only sometimes a century or more later accepted, that there is hope for the ultimate acceptance also of this one.

In this same book he is the first to advocate reduction in armaments. In his day the English, French and Dutch navies overshadowed all others. At a time when force was the only means used by governments to secure their ends, he proposed with a definite plan the reduction of the armaments of the war ships and their gradual elimination as a step toward peace. A proposal not differing essentially from the formula being sought by 20th century disarmaments conferences.

CHAPTER XVII

Present vs. 18th Century Dictators

With the French King executed, the most important business Paine felt before the National Convention was the drafting of a constitution which would give the French people an instrument embodying high ideals of justice, fraternity, and humanity. But he soon realized that others thought differently. Instead of uniting for the common good the convention broke up into factions.

Paine aligned himself with the Girondins, those idealists who sincerely wished to bring a constitution into being. The other, the Mountain, because of their high seats, numbered among their members Marat, Robespierre, and Danton. To them membership only meant an opportunity for leadership and control.

With the death of Louis all pretense of legal restraint passed. Marat dominated the convention; he became the government. Dwarfish and undersized, the records reveal him as cruel and vindicative. Some, more charitable, concede him to have been sincere and honest although, such qualities are only found in normal sane people. How his apologists, with his misdeeds so well known, can regard him as being even well balanced cannot help but cast reflection on those who seek to exonerate him.

Marat was intensely jealous of Paine. To the last he regarded him as an Englishman and a spy of the British government—at the every moment when England was only too anxious to lay its hands on Paine and have him grace the arm of a gallows.

In addition to this ill founded reason, Marat had other grounds for objecting to Paine as he felt (and correctly) that he would not fit in with his scheme of running the convention. Nor had the leader forgotten the part Paine had played at Louis' trial.

A constitutional form of government was for Marat synonymous with restraint and control. This did not square with his plan. It was too slow, too cumbersome, and entirely too legal for this fire eater. His goal was not only command but dictatorship.

At this moment let us pause and compare Marat with his present day counterpart—Hitler. The French leader was born a foreigner, a native of Switzerland; the German leader a native of Austria. Marat declared that "Frenchmen are mad to allow foreigners among them. They should cut off their ears, let them bleed a few days and then cut off their heads". Hitler, in his blind fury to reach those who had aroused his enmity or who might oppose him, has declassed whole groups and arbitrarily labeled them foreigners. The Commune of Paris dethroned the Almighty and in His place worshipped a voluptuous godess. Today the Teutons are replacing the Christ of two thousand years with the pagan god Wotan. The French Revolutionist announced they had no need of scientists and guillotined with others the famous chemist Lavoisier. At his execution the downward swish of the blade was drowned by the mob's cry: "The Republic has no need for savants". The Germans today are following a similar course flinging out of Germany her scientists and her thinkers.

Like Marat, Hitler is insensible to the rights of minorities and seeks advantages through force and hate. The German Chancellor's course is inviting disaster with just as much certainty as did that of the French dictator. Marat ruled singly without opposition. Hitler is the government, none dare oppose

him. Marat died a violent death; will the parallel continue? None is so stupid as he who will not learn.

Years ago William Hazlitt wrote this appraisal of Marat. Substitute Hitler for Marat and it describes the former with the same accuracy it did the French radical.

"Marat might be placed almost at the head of a class that exists at all times, but only break out in times of violence and revolution, who without natural sensibilities or even strong animal passions are the dupes of every perverse paradox that gratifies their desire of intellectual power: who form crime into a code and who proclaim conclusions that make the hair of others stand on end, not only with the most perfect calmness and composure but with the redundant zeal and spirit of proselytism belonging to saints and martyrs."

Organized minorities have always been able to impress their will on the unorganized but outnumbered majorities. By their better organization, accompanied with threats of violence, the Mountain had been able to intimidate enough members to have made Louis' trial but a farce. The assembly became a directorate under the dominance of Marat.

When such minority rule uses its power, the result rarely expresses the will of the people.

Such action is entirely foreign to the freedom of speech and freedom of assembly Paine advocated and which he saw included in the American constitution.

He had high hopes that the National Convention in Paris he had been asked to join would show enough spirit to fight for these principles and not, even in the face of danger, supinely accede to the threats of force.

Freedom and Liberty cannot live in an atmosphere of violence and hate. Just as the French nation was dominated by a handful of self seeking radicals, so

is the German nation today feeling the lash of its clique of dictators.

The lessons offered by Paine, if adhered to by France, would have prevented the Reign of Terror. If Germany persists in her present mad career and ignores the lessons of history, she is inviting a political cataclysm which must in the end destroy her vaunted Kultur and overwhelm the nation.

CHAPTER XVIII

Radicals in Control

Harassed on all sides, his life in danger, his motives question, his ideas trampled under foot, Paine became greatly discouraged and so expressed himself in a letter to Jefferson.

Believing implicitly in the idealism of his principles, he had hopes of spreading liberal thought throughout the greater part of Europe.

Outlawed by England through her corrupt government, thwarted in France by the cupidity of its leaders, he looked anxiously across the Atlantic and expressed a desire to return to America.

By June 1793, Robespierre had gained the ascendency and through sheer audacity ruled the convention absolutely. A majority now totally subservient to him passed a law imprisoning all foreigners. Robespierre had put into action what Marat had in mind but either could not or dared not attempt.

Paine was not arrested, but soon found himself isolated with a remnant of his old associates. Some had fled to avoid the power of Robespierre, others, delaying their departure, were obliged to make it by way of the guillotine. Ironically, members who had assembled to write a constitution guaranteeing life and liberty were obliged to flee like hunted rabbits.

It is not known whether Paine was an Marat's list to be executed at the time of his assassination by Charlotte Corday. That he was preparing such a list in his bath when stabbed is well established. Perhaps that kind Providence upon which Paine so often called,

had ordained Marat's death so that "this infidel" might be spared to write his AGE OF REASON.

While Paine would undoubtedly have fled from England to France once having realized his peril it is equally safe in saying that had he known in advance the character the French Convention would ultimately assume, he would certainly never have become a member.

The invitation to join was made not by one, as we have noted, but by four departments. He was so honored because of what his pen and pamphlets had accomplished in America and for the awakening he had created in England. Paine was then looked upon as the "high priest" of free government and liberal thought. Coming after the absolutism of the Bourbons his presence was like a cooling draught in a desert.

The Reign of Terror took the control of the convention from constructive and gave it to destructive forces. The change was repugnant to Paine. It was as though he had been cheated and induced to join an organization under false pretensions. He never permitted himself to become associated with the party of unlicensed violence.

Mindful that his counsels were going unheeded and his prestige nil, he discreetly withdrew from active participation in the sessions of the convention.

He now took up residence in the Faubourg St. Dennis in the former home of Madam de Pompadour. There, away from the turmoil of the assembly, a coterie of friends joined him. Among them may be mentioned Nicolas Bonneville, Mary Woolstonecraft, the Rolands, Rickman, Captain Imlay, and Joel Barlow.

All these were interested in furthering the introduction of Freedom, but not through violence. Paine's life there, if not idyllic, was at least quiet and peaceful and in pleasant contrast to what it would have

been had he associated with the radicals then in charge of the city.

Despite his inactivity and evident desire to withdraw from public life, he was sought after by so many enthusiastic well wishers and even cranks, and to such an extent, that he was almost forced to leave the quietude of his retreat and take up a second residence as a refuge from his own popularity. At these times he was to be found at the Philadelphia House nearer the city proper.

If Paine had entertained any expectations that the convention would ultimately settle down to a constitutional program and to formulate a written governing instrument, such hopes were blasted when on October 31, 1793, a great number of his Girondist friends were executed.

When Paine joined the convention, he was sanguine that France and, later, England would become thoroughly democratic and discard its useless and needless royalty.

The turn affairs took at the convention after the execution of Louis left him discouraged and depressed. Most men when faced with such overwhelming reverses would have forsaken their cause but his indomitable will to win never left Paine.

CHAPTER XIX

Luxembourg and the Age of Reason

The disappearance of so many of his friends, the arbitrary rule of the leaders of the convention, the unjust imprisonment of the innocent, forced Paine to the conclusion that it was only a matter of time before he too would be called upon to share the fate of the thousands then lodged in Paris prisons.

This conviction forced him to undertake, before it became too late, to write his last book, the subject of which bedevilled him and affected his life and reputation more than any of its predecessors.

Many of the prisoners awaiting sentence in the Luxembourg were held there for a year or more: others, no more guilty, made the "last journey" after a brief sojourn in prison. Paine never knew when the sinister knock would come at his door. He felt instinctively though, that some day it would.

Part I. The Age of Reason was thereupon written in a race against time. In less than two months after starting, it was finished on the memorable December 27, 1793, a day Paine never forgot, for that evening he heard the ominous knock of the officers in charge who had come to arrest him; six men to take into custody one who had never preached or advocated force!

The visit was not totally unexpected, as friends had told him of Bourbon de l'Oise's denounciation of him the day before Christmas. Bourbon's reputation was such that Paine felt instinctively it would only be a matter of days before that rogue would put his words into action.

The charge that led to Paine's arrest was the chauvanistic one that he was a foreigner. No charge of overt or secret act against the government was offered.

If being an alien was his status in December, 1793, it was no different than what it had been in September, 1792 when the four departments were so anxious to have him represent them. The disability cited by Bourbon was not made in good faith, but it served the radicals' purpose of eliminating from the convention one not in sympathy with their rule of force.

In conformity with the law, Paine had registered his two residences. As the Philadelphia House was known as his official address, the guards visited it first and there Paine quietly submitted to arrest. The officer in charge searched his rooms for incriminating papers but found none.

One request, however, Paine did make, that they stop at the Great Britain Hotel, the residence of Joel Barlow, the Yale poet,, as he wished to leave a manuscript there. He then submitted the AGE OF REASON for the officer's inspection. Seeing that it was nothing more than a treatise on religion and astronomy, the officer consented to stop at the Barlow home. There Paine delivered his manuscript with the request that it be turned over to the printer for publication.

The Barlow apartment was also throughly searched, but as with Paine's nothing irregular was found. The officer did not consent to permit Paine to visit Barlow's apartment from the goodness of his heart. He reasoned that anyone whom the prisoner wished to see on the eve of his going to prison must be a fellow conspirator and therefore worthy of his attention. Possibly he could kill two birds with the proverbial one stone. Such a capture on his own initiative would certainly not lessen his importance in the eyes of his superiors. Finding nothing incriminating he became disgruntled and expressed his pique saying that "he

perceived that it was a subterfuge on the part of citizen Thomas Paine who wished only to transfer himself to the house of citizen Barlow his native friend".

As the iron gates of Luxembourg closed on Paine his thoughts reverted to the wild scenes of joy and welcome at Calais. Then but little more than a year before the crowds had hailed him as friend and leader. Now he, who had come to help make a nation free had lost his own liberty.

Probably no truer words were ever stated than Stephen Girard's "If they had only cut off Thomas Paine's head, he would have been recorded in American school-books as the Honorable Thomas Paine assistant saviour of this country, instead of being execrated as Tom Paine, the infidel.

Up to the time of the publication of the AGE OF REASON, Paine had developed a not unusual number of enemies. This is the almost inevitable lot of men in public life.

With the release of this book, however, whole battalions of opponents, marshalled under skilled direction, arose en masse against him.

Let us examine the heinous crime he committed, which stirred up the outpourings of venom and hate so copiously hurled at him.

In the first part of the work he confessed it had been his intention for several years to publish his thoughts on religion but circumstances compelled him to undertake the work when he did.

Appalled by the extremes of Robespierre and his atrocious colleagues, who not only transgressed every right of liberty, but substituted new gods and godesses for the one Supreme Deity, he undertook to sway the French from their blasphemous and irreligious course.

Paine's entire life was built on a love of truth and fellowship. Through poverty and privation he had

learned the bitter lessons of life; service to humanity, freedom from oppression and for these principles he fought valiantly. Yet those who opposed him enlisted in their behalf every agency of bitterness and rancor that a determined enemy could muster. It is to the undying shame of the churches that they directed their attacks on Paine instead of exhibiting those qualities of forbearance and compassion it was their duty to teach.

The latter part of Paine's life was made miserable by the mental anguish and the social ostracism which resulted from campaigns which originated in the pulpits.

Count Leo Tolstoy many years later summed up Paine's case exactly, although probably not having him specifically in mind.

"Love, truth, compassion, service, sympathy, tenderness exist in the hearts of men, and are the essence of religion, but try to encompass these things in an institution and you get a church—and the church stands for and has always stood for coercion, intolerance, injustice, and cruelty."

This description, to the world's sorrow, fits too many organized churches.

Fortunately for Paine and, we might add, for the world at large, he lived in an age when he would not be called upon to sacrifice his life for his thoughts. History is crowded with the records of men who, expressing an opinion contrary to the priest-craft of their day, were obliged to undergo pain, humiliation and even death.

Socrates	—poisoned
Aristides	—ostracized
Aristotle	—fled for life
Jesus	—crucified
Paul	—beheaded

Savonarola —martyrized
Spinoza —excommunicated
Brumo, Hess and Wycliff—burned at stake
Galileo —persecuted
Roger Williams —banished.
Anne Hutchinson —expelled

To this illustrious list we must add Thomas Paine for he too was compelled to experience the obloquy, the scorn and the hate of his fellows for expressing opinions not acceptable to the clergy of his day.

Churches unable to refute Paine's arguments and deprived of the aid of physical force, sought to destroy his influence by defaming his character and sullying his name.

It is safe to claim that very few laymen active in persecuting him ever took the trouble to study the AGE OF REASON. The great mass of people were willing in Paine's day to allow their opinions to be formed for them by the ministry just as in the days when the clergy were practically the only ones capable of reading.

Paine's altruistic motive, nevertheless was not recognized even for years after by some of his closest associates. Among his most valued friends was Samuel Adams. On learning of the publication of the AGE OF REASON he wrote Paine a very complimentary letter in which he acknowledged Paine's literary service during the Revolution but expressed his deep regret that he should have turned his mind to a defence of infidelity.

Paine replied, and from his letter of January 1, 1803, quote:

"In the first place I saw my life in continual danger. My friends were falling as fast as the guillotine could cut their heads off and as I every day expected the same fate, I resolved to begin my work. I appeared

to myself to be on my death-bed, for death was on every side of me and I had no time to lose. This accounts for my writing it at the time I did, and so nicely did the time and the intention meet, that I had not finished the first part of the work more than six hours before I was arrested and taken to prison. Joel Barlow was with me and knows the fact.

"In the second place the people of France were running headlong into Atheism and I had the work translated into their own language to stop them in that career, and fix them to the first article (as I have before said) of every man's creed who has any creed at all, I believe in God. I endangered my own life in the first place by opposing in the convention the execution of the king and by labouring to show they were trying the monarchy and not the man, and that the crimes imputed to him were the crimes of the monarchial system; and I endangered it a second time by opposing Atheism; and yet some of your priests for I do not believe all are perverse, cry out in the war whoop of monarchial priestcraft, what an infidel, what a wicked man is Thomas Paine. They might as well add, for he believes in God and is against shedding blood."

In order to divert the French from their headlong flight into atheism, Paine had the book translated into their language. Couthon, one of Robespierre's most bloodthirsty satellites, was offended at it, as he regarded the work as opposing atheism. It was therefore no idle boast when Paine wrote that he "endangered his life a second time". Any theological opinion opposed by the Mountain invited the death penalty. The menace was real not only for Paine but his translator as well.

A large portion of PART I, AGE OF REASON treats of the planetary system. If published alone it would have engendered no criticism. In the preface to

PART II, Paine confessed that he had written the first part without having any Bible handy for reference. When writing PART II he fortified himself with a copy and found it to be so much worse than he expected that he regretted his former leniency.

The major portion of the second part is an analytical and constructive criticism of certain parts of the Bible whose influence in Paine's day was egregious a condition not yet wholly dissipated.

Although the book is now nearly one hundred and fifty years and has passed through innumerable editions, its sale is still constant and the volume much used and referred to constantly in the public libraries.

Paine looked upon the Holy Bible as a book written by mortals for mortals and could so be treated by him. Many of those who contributed to the Bible were untutored and their expressions reflected the errors and the narrow illiberal spirit of their day. To continue to accept statements and facts merely because of their antiquity would stunt all mental growth and anchor present day thinking irrevocably to an ignorant past. With a lucidity rarely found elsewhere he draws aside the veil of superstition and exposes much of the Bible that is inane and empty.

To him miracles, the supernatural, and revelations exist only in the minds of the chroniclers. He makes no demand that others accept his views. He threatens no one.

Similarly situated, desirous of having their doctrines accepted, organized churches for centuries resorted to force, to the auto da fé of the Inquisition; excommunications; sanctions and all those other devices that man is capable of inventing to suppress thinking and force acceptance of dogmas and creeds.

The more Paine's liberal views dissipated the thrall of the miracle and the supernatural, the less need

there would be for organized clergy to pretend to interpret the Bible.

The opposition to Paine did not develop in any one Christian church. Protestant and Catholic joined forces and denounced him. In their sermons, the ministry lost no opportunity to malign him. Orators sought to defame him; authors reviled him and many attempted to reply.

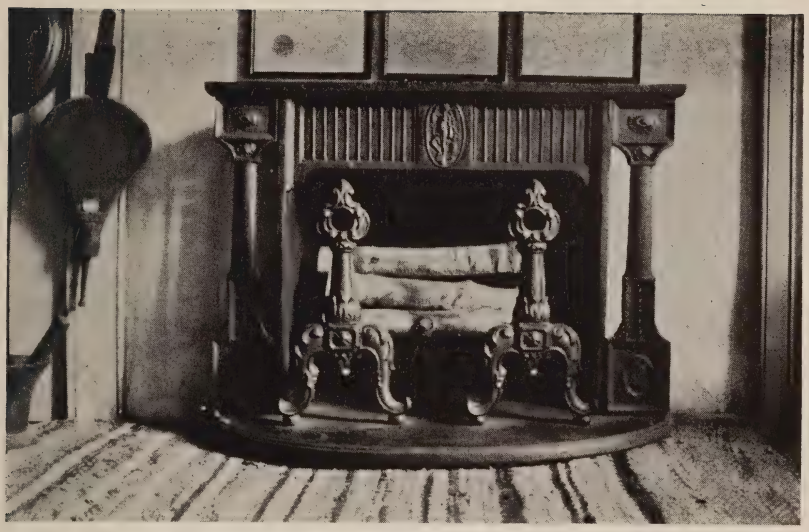
Unable to refute his reasoning, his critics called his knowledge shallow, his vanity overbearing, and laid emphasis on his ignorance. To disparage a man is not to answer his arguments.

Pulpit, platforms, and press united to defame and destroy the man whose only offense lay in his bearing the light of reason.

Although Paine's life, his services, and his literary efforts have for many years been an open book, he was even in this generation subjected to an attack from presumably responsible quarters and that, based on a forgery.

In Paul Leicester Ford's book the MANY SIDED FRANKLIN, there appears what is purported to be Franklin's reply to Paine when the latter submitted for criticism the manuscript of AGE OF REASON. The often quoted reply follows:

"I have read your manuscript with some attention. By the argument it contains against a particular Providence though you allow a general Providence you strike at the foundations of all religions. For, without the belief of a Providence that takes cognizance of guards and guides and may favor particular persons, there is no motive to worship a Deity, to fear his displeasure or to pray for his protection. I will not enter into any discussion of your principle, though you seem to desire it. At present I shall only give you my opinion that though your reasons are subtle and may prevail with some readers you will not succeed



STOVE IN PAINE COTTAGE GIVEN PAINE BY BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

Courtesy Thomas Paine National Historical Association

so as to change the general sentiments of mankind on that subject and the consequences of printing this piece will be a great deal of odium drawn upon yourself, mischief to you and no benefit to others. He that spits against the wind spits into his own face.

"But were you to succeed do you imagine any good would be done by you? You yourself may find it easy to live a virtuous life without the assistance afforded by religion! You having a clear conception of the advantages of virtue and the disadvantages of vice and possessing a strength of resolution sufficient to enable you to resist corrupt temptation. But ignorant men and women and of inexperienced inconsiderate youth of both sexes who have need of the notions of religion to restrain them from vice, to support their virtue and retain them in the practice of it until it becomes habitual which is the great point for its security. And perhaps you are indebted to her originally that is to your religious education, for the habits of virtue upon which you now justly value yourself. You might easily display your excellent talent reasoning upon a less hazardous subject, and thereby obtain a rank with our most distinguished authors. For among us it is not necessary as among the Hottentots, that a youth to be raised into the company of men should prove his manhood by beating his mother.

"I would advise you therefore not to attempt unchaining the tiger, but to burn this piece before it is seen by any other person whereby you will save yourself a great deal of regret and repentance. If men are so wicked with religion what would they be if without it?"

Whether by design or error this reply was issued and circulated in a tract by the American Tract Society, as an authentic letter rebuking Paine for writing the AGE OF REASON and advising its destruction.

The actual facts are that Franklin never wrote this letter and never saw any copy or manuscript of AGE OF REASON. Franklin died 1790 and the AGE OF REASON was written in 1793, three years later.

Those responsible for the publication of this book, as well as those who issued the pamphlet, could have availed themselves of this record.

It is being offered here to illustrate the ends employed by enemies who only sought to hurt and ignore the truth.

Those anxious to injure Paine delighted in calling him an atheist. But an atheist is one who denies or disbelieves in the existence of God. Paine never disavowed a belief in the Almighty and a reading of the AGE OF REASON will reveal his belief in his God in no less than seven different instances.

Evidently his God was not angry at Paine for writing PART I, AGE OF REASON else He would have permitted his enemies to have destroyed him and not suffered the author to live and write Part II. To accept this view however is contrary to a rational conception of a benevolent God, but would attribute to him human qualities of weakness and revenge. On the other hand, the Bible Paine held up to scrutiny is replete with accounts of God punishing his enemies. The Almighty's laws are immutable. Therefore either approval of Paine's criticism of the Bible must be accepted or the recorded statements in the Holy Writ of God revenging his enemies like a human are without foundation.

CHAPTER XX

Continued Stay at Luxembourg

With the death of Marat, Robespierre became the undisputed head of the radicals. Conscious of his own shortcomings, this man, in whose hands the lives and happiness of millions rested, had often been in the habit of consulting with Paine. While they did not share the same political philosophy, Robespierre respected him. Such meetings were not casual, for they not infrequently dined at each other's homes. A real friendship seems to have existed between them.

It is therefore something of an enigma as to the meaning of those lines in Robespierre's personal diary found after his death reading "Demander que Thomas Payne soit descrete d'accusation pour les interets de l'Amerique autant que de la France". (Demand that a writ accusing Thomas Paine be issued in the interest of America as much as of France.)

Why should Robespierre, his hands more than full with French affairs concern himself with protecting America from Paine? The latter had been held captive in the Luxembourg since the previous December. No effort had been made to effect his release. He had apparently been abandoned by his government.

Light can be thrown on this subject by a study of certain personages then in Paris and linking their names with a knowledge of American politics of this period.

The ambassador from the United States was Gouveneur Morris. He had been appointed in the face of determined opposition in the American Senate. A member of a distinguished family, and having the personal support of Washington was apparently suffi-

cient to overcome that hostility. Had the colonies been established as a monarchy, he, together with other members of his family, would undoubtedly have been elevated to a noble estate and weighted down with a title. To him, that form of government was the only conservative one worth while, and that feeling he never lost. He was a republican by circumstance, a royalist by inclination. He could only look upon Paine as a radical, never as his equal.

On only one subject did Paine and Morris agree: each had fought to save the life of the French king, but for entirely different reasons.

That bad blood existed between them is beyond question. Many of the flare-ups are too trivial for historical reference, but they suffice to prove mutual hostility.

Robespierre was hated by every monarch in Europe and felt that the only quarter from which he could hope for help was America. The basis of Morris' inactivity was unknown to him, and he construed it as being in harmony with the wishes of the American government. The sinister hand of Morris can readily be discerned for it made no difference to him whether Paine died a natural or violent death. The significance of Robespierre's memorandum is now perfectly clear. By eliminating Paine the French leader felt he was not only ridding France of an enemy but hoped through that death to gain the friendship of America.

Certain quarters in the new nation were at this period showing a marked leaning toward the rabid Jacobins but with whom Paine was at no time in sympathy. Had Paine been released or escaped from the Luxembourg to America, he would have used all his influence against these radicals and alienated that American support which Robespierre was so anxious to rally to his cause.

Staid old Philadelphia was the center of those hold-

ing such views. On the second anniversary of the death of Louis a grand banquet was held in that city. The serving of a roasted pig, representing the late King of France provided the opportunity for each in turn of those present, to carve a portion, and thus carry out his desire of vicariously dispensing justice to that monarch; the same ruler in whose honor, ten years before and in the same city, triumphant arches had been erected, and for whom no praise had been too great. Even youth, under the exhaltation of the much publicized movement, had its say. Adolescent girls were heard to proclaim their regret at being unable to assist in spilling the blood of Marie Antoinette.

Had not Morris gained Robespierre's ear, pictured Paine as one whose presence was inimical to the interests of France as well as to her old ally across the sea? Hence, if Paine could be eliminated an enemy of both would be removed, and such action would meet with favor in America.

The death of Robespierre left the execution of his instructions to others.

The perennial war between France and England broke out again in the Spring 1793. The United States was still allied to France and its ambassador should have conducted himself accordingly. Morris, however, could not so easily overcome his personal admiration for England and its government. He strongly advised Washington to denounce the treaty and undertake closer relationship with England.

The fortunes of war forced nearly one hundred American cargo vessels to tie up at Bordeaux. Even before becoming an independent nation American ships were famous as cargo carriers. Freight to Europe then consisted of the products of her fields and forests. Westbound she carried manufactured articles and supplies. By holding inactive so many American vessels was depriving France of the opportunity of exporting

her goods in neutral bottoms thus giving her enemy a distinct advantage. After remaining idle for weeks, the seamen appealed to Morris to secure permission to reload. The ambassador advised them that he had taken up the matter with secretary of State Jefferson at Philadelphia. This is borne out by the records. Such a course in the 18th century meant a considerable delay, and raises the question of Morris' good faith in trying to relieve the situation at the earliest possible moment.

Paine was still a member of the French convention and by far the most influential American in Paris. Smarting under the delay and the feeling of helplessness, the seamen turned to Paine. Their decision was to publish an open protest and let the French citizens learn of their predicament, and how their forced inactivity was really aiding their enemy.

Paine advised against this course and recommended that they appeal to the convention direct. This was done. In their petition they cited the terms of the treaty between the two countries and expressed the desire to be permitted to carry supplies to the French colonies. Their request and release was acted on favorably and promptly.

This decision certainly could not have helped the strained relationship between Paine and Morris. A more direct rebuff to the ambassador's prestige could hardly be conceived. Morris in his official capacity could apparently do nothing to relieve a critical situation whereas Paine in his, as a private citizen in prison, could advise them how to bring the impasse to a satisfactory conclusion.

The enmity between Paine and Morris was based not only on a difference of opinion on forms of government but to hostility on Morris' part to the former's ardent sympathy for republican principles.

Often cropping out, it was like a festering sore,

becoming more malignant, until even with Paine's very life at stake Morris would not alter his attitude.

Morris labored under the delusion that Paine was seeking to succeed him as American ambassador. This was an aberration of Morris' and is unsupported by any documents or letters.

With a better appreciation of Paine's character, we today can see how unfounded were Morris' fears. The former was still aligned with the party desirous of bringing to France the broad principles of Liberty and Freedom he had helped plant in America. He was one of the chief apostles of liberal thought of his times, and to have abandoned his colleagues at this crisis, even for the high post of ambassador, would have been unthinkable. He had given voice in America to much he was sponsoring now in France. He desired nothing more than to duplicate the work he had helped bring to fruition there.

In order to further a better understanding between France and America, the former contemplated at this time sending a commission to visit Washington.

Paine, fully cognizant of the prestige Morris held, as well as the influence he exerted at home, wrote a letter dated September 5, 1793, to Barrere, the chief committeeman of Public Safety, setting forth Morris' standing with the American government. However although not held in high regard in all quarters, and despite the enemies he had created in shipping circles, Paine cautioned because of Morris' family especially his brother that some regard for him must be shown.

Nothing in the entire letter—and it is the only note existant written by Paine about Morris while in France—indicates a desire or hope of succeeding Morris. The writer seemed to have been more concerned about his own return than remaining in Paris as an ambassador.

CHAPTER XXI

"The Dirty Little Atheist"

Paine's papers at the time of his arrest having been found in order, and his imprisonment due solely to being a foreigner, he had a right to believe that with the aid of his ambassador he could look for a speedy release.

The prisoner's appeal to Morris received but scant attention. It was nearly a month after Paine's arrest before the ambassador even wrote to Thomas Jefferson (then Secretary of State) about him, and mentioned his arrest in a most casual fashion.

However, in order to give his activities an air of seriousness, he wrote Jefferson that he was leaving the entire matter in the hands of his superiors at Philadelphia. This was the identical course he followed in obstructing the relief of the American vessels at Bordeaux. In 1793 the mails only travelled at irregular intervals and usually took months for replies. The only true reason for transmitting this matter to Philadelphia was to delay taking action. Paine in the meantime remained in prison.

Friends of Paine in Paris were, however, not as confident of ambassadorial aid as he, and so attempted to obtain his release on their own account.

A petition, signed by eighteen American residents of Paris, was offered to the Convention in his behalf. In it they asked for Paine's release reciting his aid to America, his friendship to France, and to his labors for the past twenty years in the interest of liberty. The petition repeated that Paine's papers had been

found in order. It also emphasized the point that his liberation would be received with great joy in America who with France shared the honor of being the only "republics of the world".

The signers offered to make themselves personally responsible for Paine's conduct for the time between his hoped for release and departure from France. The petition was sent by the Convention to the Committees of Public Safety and General Surety then sitting in joint session. Their decision was to the effect that the request of Paine's eighteen fellow countrymen was only the act of individuals and without authority from the American government. The plea was not refused—it must be presented through the proper diplomatic channels. As Morris was apparently anxious to keep Paine in prison he made no attempt to effect his release nor act on the simple suggestion offered by the French authorities.

Paine did not remain idle himself, although he did confidingly place a great deal of reliance in Morris' supposed attempts to help. Through him the prisoner appealed directly to Washington and Jefferson. Both however had received advice from Morris telling them that he was doing all he could on Paine's behalf, and as a matter of expediency they should let the Paine case rest, since by giving it too great importance it might defeat his efforts. On the other hand, Morris maintained that if no particular attention were paid to him the chances were that in the unrest and excitement of the times he might be overlooked and sight lost of him entirely.

Morris, in order to further the impression as to the involved character of the case, reported to Jefferson that Deforgue, the French minister of foreign affairs claimed Paine as a French citizen.

There is no basis for this statement. The members of the American Congress had been obliged to

take an oath of allegiance to the constitution. French delegates to the convention were not; therefore it is apparent that Paine never became a naturalized French citizen. Further evidence that Paine was not regarded as a French citizen is borne out by his actual presence in prison based on the charge of his being a foreigner.

The order for his arrest by its very terms declared Paine an American, a citizenship he acquired with the Versaille Treaty of Peace at the end of the Revolution.

Morris must have known this, still he never presented this irrefutable evidence, as a basis for Paine's release. The personal animous is so patent, that Morris' defenders have difficulty in presenting him in a favorable light.

The Luxembourg, always overcrowded and never built for a prison, was unsanitary, damp, and without adequate heat. Many like Paine had been sent there and although presumably innocent (until at least tried) were obliged to exist without ordinary rudimentary comforts. Even criminals are entitled to human consideration. Yet Paine and the three others obliged to share his restricted quarters were denied privileges freely granted to criminals today.

To have allowed anyone with even a presumption of innocence to remain longer there than necessary was in itself an act of gross injustice and inhumanity.

In order to present Gouveneur Morris in the role of an ambassador who had conscientiously discharged his duties, the late Theodore Roosevelt attempted to do so at Paine's expense.

The late President was too good a student not to know that Paine was an American citizen but ignored it and turned his guns on him from an entirely different angle.

Scurrilous and unjust as so many of the attacks made on Paine during his life were, a sense of fair-

ness would tend to pardon many as having had their origin in the stress of passion or acute partisanship.

When, however, they continue being repeated, nearly one hundred years after his death, justice demands that they be examined and either Paine's faults admitted or the author compelled to bear the odium of slandering the defenceless dead.

In 1887 Theodore Roosevelt, then a young man of twenty-four, wrote his LIFE OF GOUVERNEUR MORRIS. The author had many admirable qualities but restraint was not one of them.

From this work the following is quoted:

"One man had a very narrow escape. This was Thomas Paine, the Englishman, who had at one period rendered such a striking service to the cause of American Independence, while the rest of his life had been as ignoble as it was varied. He had been elected to the convention, and, having taken sides with the Gironde, was thrown into prison by the Jacobins. He at once asked Morris to demand him as an American citizen: a title to which he of course had no claim. Morris refused to interfere too actively judging rightly that Paine would be saved by his own insignificance and would serve his own interests best by keeping still. So the filthy little atheist had to stay in prison, where he amused himself with publishing a pamphlet against Jesus Christ. There are infidels and infidels; Paine belonged to the variety—whereof America possesses at present one or two shining examples—that apparently esteems a bladder of dirty water as the proper weapon with which to assail Christianity. It is not a type that appeals to the sympathy of an onlooker, be said onlooker religious or otherwise."

So determined was Roosevelt to present Morris favorably that he incorporated in his description of Paine the now much quoted "filthy little atheist" characterization. Never was a more caluminous insult

hurled, nor with less reason. This was probably the worst charge Roosevelt could muster. It is an old artifice employed by shysters when defending or prosecuting weak cases to berate the opposing counsel. Wherein, one can ask, does it whiten Morris' character by blackening Paine's?

Voltaire said of the Holy Roman Empire, that it was not holy, that it was not Roman, and that it was not an empire. One can truly say too that Paine was not filthy, nor little, nor an atheist.

In an effort to learn the source of Roosevelt's information affecting Paine's personal habits, Owen Wister wrote Roosevelt regarding this accusation. Roosevelt answered that he could not recall whether the characterization was based on Morris' direct statement or from an edition of his letters and journals.

"I was recording," he wrote, "in the sentence that he had stayed several weeks in bed without getting out for any purpose and that as a consequence a swine in a sty was physically cleaner in comparison."

There is nothing in Morris' papers to support Roosevelt and if he based the information from the publication of his letters and journals, such opinion was simply that of their editor.

Roosevelt's reference to a pig in a sty only added fuel to this controversy.

Twice in later years committees (once while he was governor of New York and later while President) waited on him in an effort to obtain his retraction. Learning of their mission he, with characteristic stubborness declined to be interviewed, indicating his unwillingness to be drawn into a controversy.

That he had maligned one of the greatest figures in the history of his country availed nothing.

The only gesture ever made by the ex-president to right his wrong was the letter sent in 1918 to the late Mr. William H. Van der Weyde. Referring to

the pig sty question he wrote, "I have never used it in public and I have withdrawn the only two private quotations that I have made of it".

Those who knew Paine personally many times remarked that he was in the habit of powdering his wig and dressing as well as a limited income would permit. Even when fighting in the American forces he could not throw off his Englishman's habit of a cold tub much to the amusement and ridicule of his military friends.

From the text of the quotation no one can tell if Roosevelt was referring to Paine's mental or physical littleness. The late president was only five feet five inches, whereas Paine stood five feet ten. A disparaging reference to height would come ill from one himself so short. If the author was alluding to size of his intellect, at least it was large enough first to suggest the independence of Roosevelt's native land and then materially aided in its battle for freedom.

On being pressed for the basis of his charge that Paine was an atheist, Roosevelt admitted (years later) that if he had written the line then, he would have called Paine a deist for as he himself conceded Paine had often expressed, and to his dying day maintained, a firm belief in God.

What could possibly have been, aside from a perverse nature, the reason for withholding an act of simple justice?

Only one answer suggests itself—one based on religious grounds. Prejudice, engendered during the last decade of the 18th century and a sort of reaction from the atheism of the French Revolution, ran well into the 19th. The miracles and the supernatural were accepted as veracious chornicles and made part of the faith. Roosevelt was a Presbyterian and naturally followed the doctrines of Knox and Calvin. Paine had denounced the literal interpretation of

the Bible and in his AGE OF REASON showed how specious was the acceptance of its records of miracles and revelations.

At the time Roosevelt wrote his biography, Conway had not yet published his excellent work on Paine. The material available before its publication was often inadequate, inaccurate, biased, and false.

As late as 1918, when even a casual examination of documents would have shown him his error, Roosevelt still persisted in his original defamation. It is because the opportunity had been offered him to make the necessary correction and declined, that he has justly earned the censure of Paine's friends.

CHAPTER XXII

Deism

When Roosevelt admitted he should have called Paine a deist, he felt that that was as far as he would care to go; for him, even that description carried with it something less than regularity.

To others, it stood for independent religious thinking and quite as important as independent political reasoning.

The publication of the Rights of Man, as we have noted, brought not only legal action but prosecution and persecution as well. The failure to suppress the work was, as the future showed, a blessing in disguise for with it as an incentive, urgent reforms were effected peaceably and without bloodshed.

To prohibit the printing of Age of Reason no legal aid could be invoked. Unable to prevent the work from being circulated, those it offended sought to destroy the good name and reputation of its author.

Rarely in any age or in any cause has one man been called upon to experience the abuse, villification or vituperation that was visited upon Paine for writing this book.

Unable to imprison him; powerless to prevent the work from being printed and read, his opponents denounced him as an infidel, an atheist, and a deist. To the defamers of his day these were all synonimous. As long as you did not worship in one of the orthodox churches, no term was too severe and a strict regard for truth unnecessary.

Thomas Paine, if asked, would have admitted his

being a deist, a designation that would have fitted most of the other leaders of the American Revolution as well.

After Martin Luther, in 1517 at Wittenberg, issued his epochal thesis, Rome ceased to be looked to for spiritual direction by those who chose his leadership. The written Bible was substituted for its authority. For over two hundred and fifty years the various Protestant organizations ruled their members with a severity and even a bigotry hardly to be distinguished from that employed by the Mother Church.

With the printing presses working, with knowledge becoming more diffused through the various strata of the population, with education not a boon alone for those sheltered behind cloister walls, thinking among the masses began.

No longer in fear of excommunication or sanctions, the Bible was examined, and a great deal formerly accepted on faith was rejected. This movement of independent thinking resulted in the development of deism.

Like the Reformation it too originated in Germany. From there it spread throughout Western Europe. In France, Belgium, Switzerland, and Holland it went to extremes, following the writings of Volney, Voltaire, and Rousseau and culminated in the wave of atheism of the French Revolution.

In England in the 18th century it steered a more rational course. There, while most ideas of miracles and the supernatural found in the Bible were rejected, a belief in one Almighty God was retained. Because a doctrine of this sort depended on the ability of its adherents to be able and willing to think independently, it naturally appealed to the more educated classes, a distinction that was synonimous in those days with the more wealthy groups.

Logically, America should have been, from the

day of its first settlers, free of the narrow limitations of European religious intolerance. Nevertheless, the first arrivals in Massachusetts showed a bigotry differing little from that of continental Europe. Later, Cotton and Increase Mather attempted, and to some degree succeeded in making the authority of the Bible as tyrannical as the rule of Rome. For the good fortune of America, this attitude met here with considerable opposition and never gained the ascendency that was the bane of Europe for centuries.

The belief in the one God of the English deists was transported to the colonies and, as in Europe, taken up by the better educated members of society. In accepting the doctrine that eliminating all belief in the supernatural and the mysteries of the Bible would weaken the hold of the various churches on their respective members, deism met even in America with the combined opposition of all organized churches.

It is now well known and accepted that the religious beliefs of Franklin, Washington, and Jefferson and a host of those honored with the title of Founders of their country shared such deistic beliefs with Paine. Being in political life they could not risk having it known that they held such unorthodox views. Paine, seeking neither public favor nor office, was not so circumspect. He was called upon therefore to bear the full brunt of all the abuse and the calumny that an organized clergy could heap on him.

On the other hand, Paine could hardly expect acceptance or even consideration from the gentlemen of the cloth when in his opinion, written in his letter to Carmille Jordan, "one teacher was worth more than a hundred priests".

The deistic influence in the text of the Declaration of Independence is marked. The statement: "We hold these truths to be self evident: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator

with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" is deistic.

Washington went even a step further and in connection with a treaty with the Barbary States in 1796 stated that the government of the United Staes was in no sense based on the Christian religion.

The deism of Paine is a rational subscription to the ideology of a Supreme God but rejects the mass of supernatural occurrences recorded in the Bible based on legend and folk lore.

CHAPTER XXIII

Monroe Secures Paine's Release

While a jail sentence can rarely be an enjoyable experience, Paine's stay was made more depressing by his knowledge that so many of his friends had been executed, and others were being made ready for it.

He knew the high motives that prompted him to accept membership in the convention were shared by others. Among them may be mentioned his friend Anacharsis Clootz, idealist and humanitarian, the only other foreign deputy taken in hand at the same time as Paine, and who had already been guillotined.

Danton, shortly before his own execution, greeted Paine and grasping his hand firmly remarked, "That which you did for the happiness and liberty of your country, I tried in vain to do for mine. I have been less fortunate, but not less innocent. They will send me to the scaffold, very well my friend I shall go gayly"—and he did.

Due to unsanitary conditions and inferior food Paine, during his stay at Luxembourg contracted a fever and developed a painful abcess which nearly caused his death. Possibly his life was saved because of the exceptional interest taken in Paine by the prison physician, Markaski. Before his illness, a friendship had developed between the two, so that the doctor attended Paine in the dual capacity of friend and physician. So severe was the fever that he was delirious for over a month. It was during this illness that Paine had been condemned to death.

His version of how he escaped is best stated in his own words:

"One hundred and sixty-eight persons were taken out of the Luxembourg in one night, and a hundred and sixty of them guillotined next day, of which I knew I was to be one; and the manner I escaped that fate is curious, and has all appearances of accident. The room in which I lodged was on the ground floor, and one of a long range of rooms under a gallery and the door of it opened outward and flat against the wall; so that when it was open the inside of the door appeared outward, and the contrary when it was shut. I had three comrades, fellow prisoners with me, Joseph Vanhuile of Bruges, since president of the municipality of that town, Michael and Robbins Bastini of Louvain. When persons by scores and by hundreds were to be taken out of the prison for the guillotine it was always done in the night, and those who performed that office had a private mark or signal by which they knew what rooms to go to and what number to take. We, as I have said were four and the door of our room was marked, unobserved by us, with that number in chalk; but it happened, if happening is the proper word, that the mark was put on when the door was open and flat against the wall and thereby came on the inside when we shut it at night; and the destroying angel passed by it."

Knowing of the friendship that existed between Dr. Markaski and his patient, it is not unreasonable to believe that he was responsible for the position of the door when marked with the sinister cross.

However, as Paine says himself, he was out of his mind for a month so that whatever information he had was gained not from personal knowledge, but from what others told him. In view of later research, his account may be accepted with some reservation.

John Goldworth Alger, having access to documents and records not available to Paine or any of his contemporaries, reports that the number of prisoners

THE LAST ROLL CALL OF THE CONDEMNED
(Reign of Terror)

involved was not 168 but 144, and had been sentenced to death in batches of 60, 48, and 36 for execution on the seventh, ninth, and tenth Thermidor respectively. Paine was included in the second consignment.

Robespierre, however, was guillotined July 29th, the 9th Thermidor, the very day scheduled for Paine's execution. It was therefore Robespierre's death that saved Paine and not the lack of chalk mark. The former account being the more romantic it will in all probability continue to receive the wider circulation.

In either account Paine had a more than comfortably close escape from the Widow.

While still in prison, Paine regarded Washington as his friend and consequently thought that the President would be interested in learning of the terrifying conditions in the Luxembourg and described them to him in a private letter.

"From the middle of March, 1794, to the fall of Robespierre July 29 (9th of Thermidor), the state of things in the prisons was a continued scene of horror. No man could count upon life for twenty-four hours. To such a pitch of rage and suspicion were Robespierre and his committee arrived that it seemed as if they feared to leave a man to live. Scarcely a night passed in which ten, twenty, thirty, forty, fifty or more were not taken out of the prison, carried before a pretended tribunal in the morning and guillontined before night. One hundred and sixty-nine were taken out of the Luxembourg one night in the month of July, and one hundred and sixty of them guillotined. A list of two hundred more, according to the report in the prison, was preparing a few days before Robespierre fell. In this last list I have good reason to believe I was included."

After living a hectic life as this for four months it is surprising that Paine ever left the Luxembourg in full possession of his senses.

In Paine's absence Joel Barlow faithfully carried out his instructions and AGE OF REASON, PART I was printed and published.

In addition to the English version, a translation was made into French by F. Lanthenas, the translator of RIGHTS OF MAN. This was published by Paine's friend Nicholas Bonneville. The French edition was essential for the plan Paine had in mind when writing this work. He wished to reach the people of France who were, as Paine subsequently wrote to Samuel Adams, "running headlong into Atheism".

Day after day and month after month the walls of the Luxembourg continued to confine Paine's body, but his mind went far beyond and talked to millions—the printed word being truly "the tongue of the World".

Since the effect of his American friends had proved abortive in securing Paine's release, Lanthenas wrote in behalf of the prisoner to Merlin De Thionville, an influential member of the convention. Another French friend, Achille Audibert (the same who had acted as emissary when bringing the invitations to the French Convention to Paine), entered his protest but without results.

Not because of his handling of Paine's predicament, but in response to protests and complaints from many quarters, Morris was recalled. He was succeeded by James Monroe in September, 1794.

On his arrival, Paine was still in prison and it was only after he was on the road to recovery that he learned of the change in ambassadors.

Paine lost no time in writing Monroe and apprising him of his imprisonment. The new ambassador was astonished at the situation, for so cleverly had Morris handled his end of this noisome affair, that neither Washington as President nor Jefferson, as Secretary of State had any knowledge that Paine had been con-

fined in prison since the previous December. In confirmation of this statement Monroe's reply to Paine in full is reprinted:

"It is unnecessary for me to tell you how much all your countrymen, I speak of the great mass of people are interested in your welfare. They have not forgotten the history of their own Revolution, and the difficult scenes through which they passed; nor do they review its several stages without reviving in their bosoms a due sensibility of the merits of those who served them in that great and arduous conflict. The crime of ingratitude has not yet stained, and I trust never will stain our national character.

"You are considered by them as not only having rendered important service in our own Revolution, but as being on a more extensive scale, the friend of human rights, and a distinguished and able advocate in favor of public liberty. To the welfare of Thomas Paine the Americans are not and cannot be indifferent. Of the sense which the president has always entertained of your merits and his friendly disposition towards you, you are too well assured to require any declaration of it from me. That I forward his wishes in seeking your safety is what I well know, and this will form an additional obligation on me to perform what I should otherwise consider as a duty.

"You are in my opinion, menaced by no kind of danger. To liberate you will be an object of my endeavors, and as soon as possible. But you must until that event shall be accomplished, face your situation with patience and fortitude. You will likewise have the justice to recollect that I am placed here upon a difficult theatre, many important objects to attend o, and with few to consul. It becomes one in pursuit of those, to regulate my conduct in respect to each, as to the manner and the time, as well in my judgment be best calculated to accomplish the whole.

"With great esteem and respect consider me personally your friend.

James Monroe."

This letter is dated Paris, September 18, 1794. Although Paine and the writer were both in Paris it was not delivered until October 18, a month later. The day after Paine received this very encouraging and cordial expression of friendship, Morris left France through the back door by way of Switzerland. Cannot his delaying hand be discerned in the withholding of this message?

The government at home, having no record of the charges against Paine or his difficulties being other than trivial and unimportant, no instruction regarding action to be taken in his behalf had ever been specifically issued.

Morris had used the distance between the two counties to further his despicable plot. Monroe, too, could have shirked his responsibility by writing Washington. Instead, he measured up to his job, and availed himself of a general letter of instructions sent the previous July by Secretary Randolph, then Secretary of State.

"We have heard with regret that several of our citizens have been thrown into prison in France, from a suspicion of criminal attempts against the government. If they are guilty we are extremely sorry for it: if innocent we must protect them."

Monroe by this time saw quite clearly Morris' scheme. He immediately wrote to the Committee of General Surety. This was the first direct official demand claiming Paine as an American citizen.

Within two days (November 4th) after the presentation of the notice Paine was unconditionally released.

All of Morris' false statements of intercession on Paine's behalf fell of their own weight when it was

now shown that his release only required an official demand. Paine's innocence of any wrong doing must therefore be accepted.

Finding the ex-prisoner still very sick and in no condition to take care of himself, Monroe invited Paine to his own home for convalescence. Mrs. Monroe herself often assisted in making the patient comfortable and supervised the preparation of his food.

This picture of the American ambassador taking Paine into the inner circle of his family ought to silence any critics who still harp on Paine's being a drunkard and a debauchee. The two conditions do not gibe.

Under the care of the Monroes their guest gradually regained his strength but some time during the Fall of '95 his progress was retarded by a relapse. So serious was it that Monroe despaired of his life altogether and expressed the opinion that he could not survive another month.

So closely was Paine being watched in Paris by the British government that reports of his death were frequently made in London. These were usually met with great jubilation. Cartoons, handbills, and other forms of scurrilous attack made their appearance, everyone hailed with glee the death of the author of that seditious book RIGHTS OF MAN.

Whether these outbursts were inspired by government office holders still fearful of the book's effect, or were the irresponsible effusions of individuals interested in arousing the public and finding a sale for the product of their printing presses, it is impossible to determine. It is of more than passing interest to note that, properly engineered, sufficient resentment against Paine could still easily be aroused.

Little did these misguided fanatics realize that the book they called seditious was to be the inspiration for the reform of their own government and to enable

them as well as their descendants to benefit through Paine's intelligence and forward thinking.

If the notice of his death was "somewhat premature" and therefore disappointing, the publication shortly after of AGE OF REASON, PART II (completed while still residing with the Monroes), must have been more than disconcerting.

CHAPTER XXIV

Letters Sent to Washington

Washington's silence and total indifference greatly exercised Paine. The two had always been friends. Washington had often warmly expressed the American colonies' debt to Paine. To be neglected after his urgent appeals was something that he could not understand. To be left to languish in a foreign prison in imminent danger of his life, apparently abandoned and forsaken, was treatment he neither expected nor merited.

To Paine, gratitude was a cardinal virtue, and it is but human to put an excess value on a quality one esteems highly and which is found lacking in others. Appreciation to Paine was something sacred, and always to be observed.

Smarting under Washington's apathy, Paine while still residing with the Monroes, wrote one of his characteristic letters to him. Fortunately, he showed it to the ambassador who prevailed on him, to withdraw and suppress it.

Regardless of the merit of his cause or the incentive, Monroe felt it rather incongruous and displaying poor taste for Paine, to write scathingly to the president of the country while enjoying the hospitality of its embassy.

After Monroe left Paris, Paine resurrected the first letter and with a second one sent them both to Washington. In doing so his staunchest friends and admirers admit his error. Restrained now by no friendly hand, he gave way to invectives and castigations as only Paine could. Casting aside all caution he called

Washington inefficient, lacking in gratitude, and translated his silence as tacitly repudiating him.

Paine's first letter to Monroe was smuggled out of the Luxembourg through the agency of the prison lamp lighter. In his letter to Washington he compares this stranger's loyalty who served him faithfully and would only accept remuneration reluctantly, with that of the president and "puts the character of Washington to shame".

Even when writing to Washington direct, Paine did not know that Morris (in whom Washington had implicit confidence) had written that he was taking steps to protect him and emphasized the absolute need of silence as essential for Paine's own safety. Both these subterfuges had been used by Morris to cover his own inactivity.

It is not clear whether Washington ever personally received these letters for they may have come into the hands of Secretary Pickering who, to spare his superior, retained possession of them.

In order to give his criticisms the wildest possible publicity Paine had them printed in pamphlet form.

He was at this time free and absolved from any complicity with the reactionary forces of the French. Although innocent, he had suffered and been compelled to remain in prison nearly a year through the inactivity of the very government he had helped to establish.

Better judgment would have directed him to state his complaint simply and without the exhibition of so much personal animus. His predicament would not only have aroused sympathy for him but brought a full measure of reproach upon not only Morris, but Washington as well. Paine's ill advised course alienated good will and caused even his friends to turn from him.

At the moment that Paine was excoriating Washing-

ton John Jay was in London. He had been sent there especially by Washington to negotiate a commercial treaty with Great Britain. To have jeopardized the successful outcome of this mission by espousing the cause of a British outlaw (especially in the face of Morris' advice) would have put the interest of one before the welfare of 3,000,000. Washington was President of the American nation; its interests were of prime importance.

Had Paine but known the innocent part Washington played in this drama there is little doubt that the letters would never have been sent. Once having been written, the indiscretion lay in Paine not restricting himself to the case at issue, and aggravating the situation by a broadcast of their contents.

Lest Paine be placed in the false position of appearing to have been the only one criticising Washington, reference should be made to the veritable campaign of abuse and villification directed at the President especially during the latter part of his second term. Some unbiased historians concede he merited some criticism but that most of it was merely the outpourings of disgruntled persons who had far less reason to complain than Paine.

In some quarters his letters to Washington are regarded as part of the Jacobin activities in America which took place during the last decade of the 18th century.

Under the direction of the French ambassador Genet, those in favor of introducing here the revolutionary principles employed in France indulged in many acts of violence and became so intolerable that their leader's recall was requested.

To state that Paine was at any time a party to a movement detrimental to the best interests of the United States is a slander and is as false as it is wicked.

His denunciation of Washington had nothing in

common with the disgraceful attacks of others. His letters were based on the treatment, or lack of it, he thought he had received at the hands of the President. If he over-reached himself it can be excused on the score of his grievous injury.

Never in his entire life did Paine conspire to hurt anyone, and to plot with others to injure the government he had helped to found is unthinkable.

Benjamin Franklin's grandson, Bach, stigmatized Washington as "inefficient—treacherous—had little passion and was in search of personal incense". "If ever a nation was debauched by a man," said the Aurora, "the American nation has been debauched by Washington".

William Duane, another editor, wrote a pamphlet addressed to Washington asserting that "had you obtained promotion * * * * after Braddock's defeat your sword would have been drawn against your country".

For some inexplicable reason, Washington's second term was a disappointment. Allowing himself to become the tool of unscrupulous politicians he failed to display that courage and decisiveness so characteristic of the man's earlier career. It could not have been his age as he was only sixty-four when he retired.

Since 1775, a matter of twenty years, he had been constantly in the public eye, often the center of acrimonious debates and disputes. Even the strongest will may become weary under the constant assault of aggressive ambitions and designing politicians. Men placed in high places, like Morris, in whom he reposed great confidence and later found unworthy of that trust, could not have added to the tranquillity of his mind nor silenced his critics.

America should, however, be indeed gratified to be able to record that, once having left office, esteem, love, and affection for the old leader returned.

CHAPTER XXV

Paine vs. Rousseau

In many quarters Jean Jacques Rousseau is looked upon as the source of much of Paine's inspirations. If this is so, then once again the disciple has outstripped the master.

Paine at various times expressed his disdain for books and written literature; the Bible was the only book he had ever thoroughly read.

He always maintained that the opinions he advanced were his own and his alone. It is a question, though, whether any man can so isolate himself mentally as to divorce his mind of all the world's literature and, in Paine's case, its philosophy likewise. Man can no more escape the benefits of his cultural heritage than he can arrogate to himself superior generic characteristics unknown to his ancestors. In his preface to Rights of Man Paine's criticism of both Voltaire and Montesquieu shows that he must have read and studied the works of these two masters.

Recognition of his father's Quaker influence must likewise not be overlooked, for he early received a well grounded conception of the rights of others, those lofty principles that underlie all his writings. Many times in after life he speaks feelingly of his father. The lessons learned in childhood must have so often recurred that they became habitual and fixed.

Paine was vain: sometimes this characteristic would assume an almost childlike character. Excessive egotism in one who had risen from no position to where he was looked up to as the equal of the leaders of nations

can be pardoned. Possibly he felt that if he admitted a knowledge of the writings of others, it might detract from the worth of his own and thereby deprive him of the credit of the originality of his own works.

Rousseau has been called the greatest literary demagogue of all times. If the results achieved by those who accepted his principles may be used as criteria then he has earned this unenviable reputation.

No more insidious sophistry than Rousseau's "that all men are born free and equal" has ever been dangled before the confiding masses. It is an untruth upon which trusting thousands had founded their hopes, only to have them dashed in a devastating aftermath that left them disillusioned, stunned, and hopeless. Men are not brought into this world on an equal basis. Each is ushered in with characteristics inherited from his ancestors hidden in his nature.

Nature has distributed his talents, his virtues, and his weaknesses, and no man-made law, can alter the arrangement. Even twins, who would probably come nearest to fulfilling Rousseau's dogma, change as they grow, often developing a wide divergence of likes and dislikes.

Paine maintained that all men were equal before the law and believed that the government should provide equal protection and opportunity; individual success or failure would depend solely on an individual's own efforts.

Rousseau taught that emotion should be the fount for the inspiration of all actions. He discarded intellect, reason, and experience. When the storm clouds broke in France the mobs led by leaders imbued with this philosophy knew no bounds but their emotions. These gave birth to violence, disorder, hate, and passions which exhibited to the world orgies of excesses as were only surpassed by the cruelties of the

Inquisition when it, too, was dominated by hysterical religious emotions. These and others are arresting examples of man's brutality and even beastiality when bereft of reason.

Paine respected reason. He was emphatic that in the light of reason the lessons of history and the experience of time were the safest guides. A written instrument would serve not only as a fingerpost but keep all within bounds. Because of his firm belief in this principle he urged on Congress that a constitution be framed at the earliest possible moment. His ideas were practical, his ideals lofty, but he always walked with his feet on the ground. "Had the world listened to him rather than abused him it would be a happier and a wiser place than it is today". If the French Convention had heeded Paine's advice to draft and put into effect a written constitution the Reign of Terror would never have taken place. Such restraining instruments are anathema to men like Marat and Robespierre. The absence of any circumscribing or controlling document, plus Rousseau's philosophy, led to their unbridled excesses. It was government run amuck.

The acceptance of this French philosopher's sophistries will always lead to anarchy and disorder. Traceable directly to the influence of the fallacy that all men are born free and equal was the insurrection in French Domingo in 1800. For the scenes of carnage enacted there (when the Negroes rose in open revolt and murdered the white population), Paine was unjustly accused with having supplied the insurgents with the specious philosophy that led to this rebellion. Rousseau had been dead nearly twenty-five years, but Paine was still available. Upon his head was visited the approbium earned by another. Then as now, there were some who confused the viewpoints of the two men.

Rousseau reveled in the expression of emotion and worshipped self above all things. Paine cared nothing for self. He wrote anonymously without pay. His love for his fellowmen became almost an obsession; he fought unselfishly for their political, theological, and intellectual emancipation.

When the American colonists finally took up arms for their freedom they fought with reason as their weapon, based very largely on the rational philosophy of Paine's COMMON SENSE. Passion in the colonies, too, ran high but through this restraining influence the colonies were spared the orgies that baptized the French Revolution in blood and bathed the citizens in it for months.

Paine looked upon the phrase "all men are born free and equal" as little short of ridiculous as long as there were any slaves held in bondage in the country. Surely, he maintained, they were men; to them, God had given a mind and an intellect, capable of pain and pleasure. To say slaves are born free is simply a travesty of words. He fought hard to have the abolition of slaves included in the American Constitution. Jefferson was in full sympathy but compelled to withdraw the paragraph owing to the combined pressure of the Southern delegates who required slave labor for their plantations, and the Northern interests engaged in supplying and transporting them.

Rousseau's sophistry that emotions should rule, carried the French Revolution to its excesses. It is the same complex that is Hitler's forte today. His oratory, his hymns of hate, his spectacular gatherings; his display of military uniforms, flags, and other accoutrements of war all appeal to passion. They are serving the same purpose in Germany today that the harangues of the leaders and the demagogues did in the France of '93. No stable government was ever based

on emotions and Hitler's regime is doomed to failure just as soon as the glamour of his success passes.

It is a sad commentary on German perspicacity that it should not heed the lessons of history. Hate never bred peace; reason alone can bring justice and concord.

CHAPTER XXVI

Napoleon's Scheme to Invade England

While still residing with Monroe in Paris, Paine in 1796 wrote his essay on Agarian Justice but only had it published the following year. It is important as being the forerunner of Henry George's single tax movement. In it he also sponsors old age pensions, a social doctrine only now beginning to be recognized generally. Progress, in spite of Occidental speed still travels slowely.

This pamphlet was a protest against a sermon preached by the Bishop of Llandaff. In his discourse the Bishop disclosed himself as being a clergyman with more theology in his head than common sense and charity. In his talk the minister maintained that God in His wisdom had made both rich and poor and therefore it was presumtuous for anyone to alter the division of wealth. Indignantly Paine replied "that God made only Males and Females and he gave them the earth for their inheritance".

In this essay Paine advocated the imposition of death dues on land estates and with the funds so realized, to establish annual pensions for citizens of fifty years or more.

"It is not charity, but a right, not a bounty but justice that I am pleading for. The present state of civilization is as odious as it is unjust. It is absolutely the opposite of what it should be, and it is necessary that a revolution should be made of it. The contrast of affluence and wretchedness continually meeting and offending the eye is like dead and living bodies chained together. Though I care as little for riches

as any man I am a friend to riches, because they are capable of good. I care not how affluent some may be, provided that none be miserable in consequent of it. But it is impossible to enjoy affluence with the felicity it is capable of being enjoyed, whilst so much misery is mingled in the scene."

From this extract no one can charge Paine with Bolshevism. It is, nevertheless, a plea for social justice; yesterday revolutionary, today accepted, and tomorrow, in operation.

In 1796, Monroe returned to the United States, and Paine took up residence with Nicolas Bonneville, the printer of the French translation of the AGE OF REASON. Paine had known him before as a frequent visitor in the Faubourg St. Denis. Their relationship now became closer and eventually had a far reaching effect on Paine's private life when he subsequently returned to America.

During the last decade of the 18th century the influence of Paine's pen was more dreaded by the despots of Europe than an army of men. In him they saw the individual who was one of the primary causes of the rebellion in America; his reply to Burke had started the English people thinking along lines never essayed before by them; and now in France he was the avowed enemy of all monarchical forms of government. Not one of the crown heads of Europe but would have given the proverbial king's ransom to be able "to hang him by his neck until dead".

On the high seas during this period, the English navy was harrying and even destroying much of the world's commerce whenever such a course seemed of benefit to her. The principle of once an Englishman always an Englishman she maintained steadfastly, and impressed into her navy all British born found serving under other flags. Protests and objections were of no avail. Just as the forest wardens fight fire with

fire it became the universal opinion that she would never desist from her unlawful course until she herself experienced some of the hardships of war in her own ports. The French were not immune from such deprivations.

Napoleon, on his triumphant return from Italy in 1797, sought out Paine, who was then living with the Bonnevilles. There in the modest rooms of the humple printer the future Emperor met the uncrowned American Thomas Paine.

With the suave tongue of the flatterer he expressed his admiration for the RIGHTS OF MAN and told its author that he slept with a copy of it under his pillow and further that a statue of gold should be erected in his honor. The object of the visit, however, was to enlist Paine's aid in a contemplated attempt to invade England. The plan was to construct one thousand small boats (with a gun mounted fore and aft), each measuring sixty feet long with a sixteen foot beam and manned by a crew of one hundred—an invading army of one hundred thousand men.

Paine agreed to become a member of this force, for Napoleon was then successfully combating the opponents of French Liberty. In the Little Corporal he saw the crusader waging his fight for universal freedom. The author of RIGHTS OF MAN pictured this army as the sword of his hopes of creating a republican form of government in England, by giving them "the opportunity of forming a government for themselves and thereby bring about peace".

Two hundred and fifty of these small boats had already been built in Belgium when Napoleon suddenly withdrew from the plan, they having served their purpose as a feint for his descent on Egypt.

In this venture, Paine did not see himself as aiding the invasion of his native land under a foreign banner. He regarded himself as using the best means

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NAPOLEON—LAYING HIS FUTILE PLANS FOR THE INVASION OF ENGLAND.

available to bring to the English people the same government of Liberty and freedom from corruption then current in America.

Paine never forgave Napoleon for his duplicity. He felt acutely the role into which he had been cast as harbinger of political Freedom, only to find his true part to be that of a puppet. From a London paper The New York Theophilanthropist quoted:

"He (Paine) continued in Paris long after Bonaparte rendered himself supreme in the State and spoke as freely as ever. He told the writer of this article at Paris at the Peace of Amiens that he was preparing for America; and that he could not reside in comfort in the dominions of Bonaparte; that if he was to govern like an angel, he should always remember that he had perjured himself; that he had heard him swear that France should be a pure republic; and that he himself would rather die than endure the authority of a single individual: he would end his days in America for he thought there was no liberty anywhere else."

In addition to publishing books and pamphlets, Bonneville edited a newspaper in Paris. Editors being what they are, he took occasion to criticise Napoleon and was so indiscreet as to refer to him as a Cromwell. The general took offense at this and ordered Bonneville's arrest and imprisonment.

At this time Paine left Paris to visit at Bruges his old cell mates of the Luxembourg. On his return, Bonneville had been released, but under strict surveillance and his newspaper suppressed. The editor had never been a rich man, and the discontinuance of his paper, leaving him with practically no source of livelihood, soon reduced the family to straightened circumstances. Because of this Paine felt morally obligated to stand by his old friend and continued living with the family as a paying guest.

Conditions were now so distasteful for Paine in Paris that he expressed in a letter to Jefferson a desire to return home on a national vessel. The request was not made through vanity but to circumvent the penalty for outlawry still in effect against Paine and which could reach him if captured on the high seas.

President Jefferson arranged passage for him on the frigate MARYLAND. Paine, learning of the criticism this step had caused at home and not wishing to embarrass his friend, declined to accept the proferred passage.

Later, peace then having been declared between France and Britain, the danger of Paine being captured removed, he set sail on September 1, 1802, from Harve. His friend Rickman came from London especially to bid him farewell.

Paine arrived October 30th, landing at Baltimore. From there he went to Washington, then a small village. While it had been planned by L'Enfant, it was many years before Washington became the grand and impressive city the talented Frenchman had visualized and drawn on paper. Paine put up at Lovett's probably the best or possibly the only hotel of which the capital could boast.

On his return he found Jefferson enthusiastically in sympathy with Napoleon, a sentiment Paine naturally could not share. His opinion of the Emperor, however, later underwent a change when he learned of his promulgating the Civil Code, his provisions for education and science, and his later declaration of war against England tended to restore Paine's old esteem.

This regard would have been rudely shaken had Paine known that at the very moment he was approving the declaration, Napoleon had cast aside all pretense of republicism and had had himself crowned, at St. Cloud, Emperor of France.

CHAPTER XXVII

Paine Returns to America

Paine's reception on his arrival home was far from enthusiastic. Any channel swimmer, eccentric globe trotter, or intinerant mountebank would receive today a far more rousing welcome than did the man to whom much belated credit is now being given for his share in the successful outcome of the American Revolution.

First, his letters to Washington had caused a reaction that Paine never expected. For him to have declared the President incompetent, treacherous, and deceitful was to strike at one of the idols of the nation. The letters were a mistake, an indiscretion of which Paine would never have been guilty had he known what is today so clearly indicated in the records.

Second, the publication of the Age of Reason killed whatever hope Paine might have entertained toward rehabilitating himself with the public. The book gave offence not so much to those who read and understood it. The opposition came mostly from those who never had studied it and who were urged on in their antipathy by their clergy.

All organized churches met him on a united front. Still he had done nothing more than take the Bible, read it, and examine it critically.

In Paine's day ministers would deliver their sermons and interpretations of the Holy Writ with an air of assumed finality. Conclusions would be arrived at contrary to all reason or common sense; because

they came from the pulpit, they rang with an air of authority.

Paine showed the falsity as well as the absurdity of many of these. The Protestant churches reserve the right to make their own interpretations of the Bible. For Paine to do the very same was wrong, shocking, and blasphemous.

He at no time attacked the ideology of a Supreme God, but denounced all idea of the supernatural. He also found much to criticize in the activities of members of the cloth. Through their self elevated position they sought to direct the minds and form the opinions of their members. Against such bondage he objected vigorously.

To have had his philosophy accepted would not have destroyed the belief in God but would have relegated the clergy to an inferior position. It is for this reason that the opposition to Paine was so violent, so bitter, and fed by an intolerance which only church narrowness can generate.

Did not Jesus denounce the iniquities of the priestcraft of his day? Paine also strove to break the hold the church of his day had on their members through their stressing an implicit and unquestioning belief in the Bible.

When Paine stood before the savage Convention and pleaded not for the life of a stupid sovereign Louis XVI but for the life of a fellow human Louis Capet, he risked his own. How many of the clergymen who denounced him ever risked their lives for another?

While in the Luxembourg he volunteered to act as ransom for an Englishman who returned home to visit his family. How many of his traducers ever showed such faith in another? His trust in his fellows could only come from a great love for others.

He never sought an advantage for himself! he labored for and served all mankind.

The very Bible the churches were striving to hold sacrosanct is replete with accounts of punishments and penalties meted out by God for infraction of His laws. The Almighty needed then no help from petty pastors to urge Him to punish the wicked. Why then did the clergy of Paine's day urge Him to chastise that "infidel"?

If the accounts in the Bible are correct, God punished those who transgressed His law. The very fact that He permitted Paine to live unhurt even beyond the "Biblical Age" might be construed as evidence that the Almighty was not concerned in Paine's activities.

When Paine landed at Baltimore, Jefferson was President. The chief magistrate had always esteemed Paine personally and greatly appreciated his help during the war. Political scheming and intrigues were then even more acute then than in America today. Those who paid any attention to politics took them seriously. Personalities were indulged in that would never be countenanced now. The gentry of the early 19th century looked upon the running of the government as a matter of public concern. With recourse to duelling not unusual, one took care to have as few enemies as possible.

For Jefferson openly to have avowed his friendship for Paine would not only have given his American enemies additional ammunition for their campaigns of re-occuring vilification but likewise created ill feeling with the British government. Tension with it was then running high. American ships were being stopped and their seamen impressed. The infant republic, hardly out of its swaddling clothes, could not afford to jeopardize its hard earned freedom nor permit the tense situation to develop into an armed clash.

Paine was looked upon as an avowed enemy of the English government, one who had called for its destruction, and had effectively ridiculed and lampooned its monarch and its royalty.

He was most unwilling to compromise Jefferson but wrote him discreetly that he would very much like to visit him and discuss certain matters. An invitation was extended. Iron bridges, European and American politics, as well as economic problems all came in for discussion.

Spain had two years before ceded the Louisiana territory to France who had immediately excluded Americans from New Orleans as well as from the navigation of the Mississippi. The inhabitants on the upper reaches of the river resented such interference. Every ingredient for friction was present.

Wishing to remove, if possible, any condition that might disturb the friendly relations with France, and at the same time take advantage of an opportunity to increase by peaceable means the territory of the United States, Paine sought out a Dr. Michael Leib, an influential representative in Congress from Pennsylvania. To him he disclosed his plan of buying the Louisiana territory from France. Dr. Lieb was so favorably impressed that he urged Paine to bring the matter to the attention of the president.

The day after receiving Paine's letter Jefferson wrote him "that measures were already taken in that business". The steps were taken in secret and Paine had no knowledge of them. It would not be unfair to say that both Paine and Jefferson should share the honors of having conceived the Louisiana Purchase.

Probably the first full weight of his unpopularity was forced on Paine on his return from his visit to Jefferson. En route home to New York, he stopped off at Philadelphia, intending to revive some old

friendships. His chagrin can better be imagined than stated when, in response to his kindly gesture to Dr. Rush, the physician cavalierly declined to greet him. The doctor remarked of his old friend that "his principles avowed in his AGE OF REASON were so offensive to me, that I did not wish to renew my intercourse with him".

The physician's churlish insult may be understood when it is noted that owing to the death of his father in early youth, young Rush had been brought up and educated in the home of his uncle the Reverend Samuel Finley a Presbyterian minister. Unquestionably this early training would account for this affront.

Since Dr. Rush's boorishness invites a comparison with Paine it is only fair that the challenge be accepted. After Washington's defeats at Brandywine and Germantown and General Gates' victory at Saratoga a strong opposition developed against the former. Under the guidance and inspiration of the notorious Irish adventurer General Thomas Conway, Dr. Rush, General Charles Lee, Thomas Mifflin and others formed the Conway Cabal. It denounced Washington as being incompetent and with much acerbity charged that appointments were being made in the army not based on merit. The object of the Cabal was to supplant Washington with General Gates as commander-in-chief. Those were among the very darkest days of the Revolution when faith and confidence in the cause should have been expressed and no seeds of discord sown.

At the very moment that Dr. Rush and his associates were striving to create a distrust in the leadership of the American forces, Paine was writing his "Crisises" to bolster up the faltering spirits of the Continentals and helped offset the efforts of this designing clique.

Another time at Trenton, where Paine was obliged

to change stage coaches, he was made to suffer further humiliation. His identity becoming known, other passengers refused to ride with him. They feared, they said, that God in his wrath might slay them all by lightning. It is well within the realm of probability that the forebears of these intolerants had left Europe to avoid religious persecution. Just as though a benevolent God would stultify Himself by taking up a petty quarrel, especially against one who had come nearer showing the way of true brotherhood than his benighted accusers. The aid of the Almighty being something more to be hoped for than relied on, his annoyers attempted to imitate His power for punishment by startling the horses with a sudden roll of drums in the hope of creating a runaway.

The spirit of Freedom and Equality might sound well from a speaker's platform, but to refuse to extend common courtesy to the man who had done so much for Liberty makes them sound empty and hypocritical.

Probably less than twenty-five miles from this same Trenton, Paine wrote his first CRISIS which infused a new spirit into a dispirited army and helped lead it on to ultimate victory.

After Paine returned from Europe he spent more time in New York than at Bordentown, his farm, or even in Philadelphia.

His experience with Dr. Rush in mind, together with the treatment accorded him at Trenton, it was only natural that he should seek more congenial surroundings.

The narrow conservatism of the Friends of Philadelphia did not appeal to this unorthodox Quaker. All his life he had opposed those conditions which appeared to him to be not only unjust, but he resisted with equal determination every act of intolerance.

When the British, in 1664, took over the Dutch

colony of New Amsterdam, they found the broad tolerance indigenous to the Netherlands had taken root in America. Many of the English immigrants who settled there after that date had left their native land to avoid intolerable oppressive measures. Here they found a new spirit. New Englanders, surfeited with dissatisfaction, likewise sought refuge in this settlement. Neighboring New Jersey added a Swedish ingredient to the colony that was assuming such a heterogenious complexion.

The foundation for the melting pot of modern New York was laid when the many peoples of Europe settling there respected the opinions of their neighbors. The futility of attempting to impress the view of some on the rest early became patent, and little of that sort of coercion was ever undertaken. The result was a cosmopolitan population, not only in origin but in thought as well.

In New York, Paine found the atmosphere more agreeable than in those quarters where he had hoped to find the haven he believed he had earned. There he remained except during the time spent at New Rochelle until he died.

CHAPTER XXVIII

Retires to Farm

His return from Europe was followed shortly by the arrival at Norfolk of Madame Bonneville and her three sons. One of these, Benjamin, later graduated from West Point and became famous as an explorer of the Northwest. He died in 1878 a general in the United States Army. The great dam now being built in Oregon is named for this French immigrant lad once aided and supported by Paine. Bonneville, having aroused the emnity of Napoleon, was constantly watched and was only able to leave France after Paine had died. It had been part of the original understanding to have him follow the rest of his family just as soon as practical.

With the completion of Part II of Age of Reason Paine started Part III. This he finished on his return to America. Owing to the determined opposition to the second part, he found difficulty in getting anyone to print and publish it.

Realizing the resentment such a book would arouse, Jefferson (although in sympathy with the contents of both parts one and two) advised and requested him not to have it published. To his suggestion Paine turned a deaf ear and is reported as saying "that he never was and never will be advised on that subject".

Part III, however, was never published. The manuscript was left with Madame Bonneville at his death. This work, with many other of his papers, was destroyed by a fire in a warehouse in St. Louis, Mo.

Madame Bonneville arrived in America without

funds, and she and her children went to live in the Paine house at Bordentown. It was planned that she would undertake the teaching of French to some of the families in the neighborhood and so maintain herself. Owing to her limited English this plan had to be abandoned. Paine then moved the family to the farm at New Rochelle where he set her up as his housekeeper.

For a while Paine's financial situation was fairly comfortable and he wrote Jefferson that he had sold off 61½ acres of his farm for $4020.00, and with the sum so realized would improve what he had retained.

The house he and his friends occupied can still be seen at New Rochelle, although it does not occupy the original site. It is a small unpretentious wooden affair of eight rooms.

One evening at dusk, while Paine was sitting writing at his desk by the window, an attempt was made to assassinate him. The musket was discharged so close to the window that powder marks were found on the sill, yet so poor was the marksmanship that the bullet went wild. Perhaps Paine himself could best relate what happened.

He sent an account of the affair to his friend William Carver and from it we quote:

"What you heard of a gun being fired into the room is true—Robert and Rachel were both gone ont to keep Christmas Eve and about eight o'clock at night the gun was fired. I ran immediately out, one of Mr. Dean's boys with me, but the person that had done it was gone. I directly suspected who it was, and I halloed to him by name, that he was discovered. I did this that the party who fired might know I was on the watch. I cannot find any ball but whatever the gun was charged with passed through about three or four inches below the window making a hole large enough for a finger to go through—the muzzle must

have been very near as the place is black with the powder, and the glass of the window is shattered to pieces. Mr. Shute, after examining the place and getting what information could be had, issued a warrant to take up Derrick, and after examination committed him.

"He is now on bail (five hundred dollars) to take his trial at the Supreme Court in May next. Derrick owes me forty-eight dollars for which I have his note and he was to work it out in making stone fence which he has not even begun, and besides this, I have had to pay forty-two pounds eleven shillings for which I had passed my word for him at Mr. Pelton's store. Derrick borrowed the gun under pretense of giving Mrs. Bayeaux a Christmas gun. He was with Purdy about two hours before the attack on the house was made and he came from thence to Dean's half drunk and brought with him a bottle of rum, and Purdy was with him when he was taken up".

While Derrick was held for trial there is no record of his conviction or even of his trial. It is well within possibility that Paine did not press the charge.

At about this time (1805), France was occupied with suppressing an insurrection in her Negro colony Domingo. To effect this, she had resorted to an armed blockade.

In his letter to Jefferson on this subject, Paine notes that were American ships to run the embargo "it would embarrass us with the French government. On the other hand, if the people of Domingo think that we show a partiality to the French injurious to them, they might resort to piracy".

Domingo he already saw lost to France. He therefore suggested that steps be taken to effect peace under a guarantee of the U. S. thereby enhancing American prestige. "Once having gained their confidence through justice and friendship our advice would

be listened to, not only by the people of Domingo, but throughout the rest of the West Indies".

The United States, he maintained, was the only power capable of filling such a role as arbiter and protector; in fact, he used the highly significant phrase "she (The U. S. A.) is now the parent of the Western World". When one recalls that all the countries of Latin America had yet to gain their freedom and would base their governments after the pattern set by the United States, the remark was truly prophetic. This plan, privately discussed with Jefferson, was declared by a subsequent administration a recognized principle of the American government, more generally known as the Monroe Doctrine.

Although greatly attached to his farm at New Rochelle, Paine, on account of ill health, was obliged in 1806 to lease it, while he lived in New York, at 36 Cedar Street, with William Carver, an Englishman whom Paine had known at Lewes.

The quiet life on the farm did not appeal to Madame Bonneville and she had returned to New York where she felt, with her better command of English, that she could at least earn enough to support herself and children.

Evidently Paine had used the money realized from the sale of the sixty odd acres for the improvements he contemplated, for he again found himself in financial difficulties. He wrote Jefferson reminding him that the state of Virginia had never made him any payments for his services during the war, although his aid had been freely admitted and recognition recommended by two of her governors.

Jefferson may have replied but there does not seem to be any record of his answer.

After residing several months in New York with Carver, Paine returned to the farm at New Rochelle

where he had hopes of recuperating from his poor health.

So pressing were his needs (for in addition to supporting himself he was still maintaining the Bonneville family), he sacrificed his property at Bordentown for three hundred dollars, a figure much below its true value.

Taking into account the loss of friendship of many of those with whom he had served during the Revolution, the loss of prestige, his ill health, his financial concern, and the furore his deistic writing had created, he often questioned the advisability of ever having returned to America.

Even in his rural retreat his enemies availed themselves of an opportunity to humiliate him publically. While residing at New Rochelle his right to vote at a local election was denied him. The supervisor, Elisha Ward, an active Tory during the war, declined to allow him to cast his ballot, basing his refusal on Paine's being a foreigner. In substantiation of this, the pompous gentleman cited Gouverneur Morris', claim as to Paine's citizenship and also that President Washington had joined in that view. No other reason for disqualification was offered. That the French Convention acknowledged Monroe's claim to Paine's citizenship by releasing him from jail was completely ignored. Possibly the official thought Paine was merely there on a sort of leave of absence.

No fair minded person will regard the objection as having been made in good faith. The question of Paine's right to vote served as a convenient peg on which to hang the supervisor's hat and enabled him to vent his spleen: the small action of a small man.

New Rochelle at this time was strongly pro-Federal and under the control of Paine's old enemy Morris. In fact, the latter resided at Morrisania, a settlement

THOMAS PAINE MONUMENT

Courtesy Huguenot and Historical Association of New Rochelle, N. Y.

The only monument in the United States to the memory of Thomas Paine. Erected in 1839 by private subscription. Now stands near site of Paine's grave at North and Paine Avenues, New Rochelle, N. Y.

situated only about ten miles from New Rochelle and lying between it and the city of New York.

There can be little doubt that Morris instigated the refusal, for the supervisor derisively pointed out, Paine could be either a French or an English citizen but not an American—a revival of Morris' Paris charge.

The humiliation was entirely uncalled for and what made it even more poignant was, as Paine pointed out, each member of the election board had been a Tory during the war and had worked for the defeat of the Colonials.

Paine was thoroughly aroused at this insult and threatened suit for redress. Apparently nothing came of it.

It was unfortunate that his neighbors at New Rochelle should have acted so unjustly, for Paine had a tender regard for his farm there, and retired to it whenever circumstances or his financial condition permitted.

Later, being denied burial in a Quaker cemetery, he directed that his body be interred on his farm.

To atone and repent for an unjust act is almost tantamount to being not guilty of it. If New Rochelle of the early 19th century was unappreciative of Paine's worth, the present city has made some amends. There, nearly a hundred years ago a monument was raised—the only one erected to his memory in the United States and that, through private subscriptions. His home too, with some of its original furnishings is maintained there as a museum. Not far from the site of Paine's former grave a very attractive stone building has been built by the Thomas Paine National and Historical Association to house its collection of manuscript, relics and other objects of interest connected with the life of the once despised neighbor.

CHAPTER XXIX

Attacks on Personal Habits

Paine has been limned by many early calumniators as a drunkard, uncouth, vulgar, slovenly, ignorant, and lamentably lacking in all of those signs indicative of a gentleman.

To his greet detriment, such portrayals had been accepted as true and subsequent writers continued to pass on as authentic these pictures conceived in malice and hate.

The charges have become magnified by repetition and have assumed a significance entirely out of proportion to their importance.

It is difficult to understand why people who enjoy the title of men should so demean themselves to libel another for inconsequential failings. What harm was Paine guilty of, if he happened to appear with his clothes unpressed or his suit unbrushed? What law of God or man did he transgress if some of his morning coffee or egg stained his waistcoat?

Scattered over this broad land there have ever been thousands of kindly old grandfathers whose bespattered vests have been the bane of meticulous gentle old grandmothers. Regardless how many slips there were between the cup and the lip, the black of the coffee never entered Paine's heart, nor did the yellow of the egg ever color his spirit.

The opprobrium attached to being a drunkard is based on the exhibition of a certain lack of control. When in that state, the intoxicated one might do himself or others harm; he might also injure property or be guilty of expressing himself indiscreetly or vulgarly.

The writer has searched the available records, even those of Paine's most venal and shameless biographers for specific instances of his having been guilty of any of these lapses. There is no evidence to support the charge that Paine was an habitual inebriate.

Invariably critics who have portrayed Paine unfavorably, harped upon his being a drunkard, a dissolute old soak. Nothing can be gained by hiding the truth, any more than by exaggerating the untruth.

The collapse of his plans for a constitutional France robbed him of the hope of planting in Europe the republican system then already functioning so successfully in America. He, like many men before and after him, felt he could obtain solace through drink.

It is known that during the period of the French convention debacle he not only drank, but at times indulged to excess. Allowances, however, should be made, because of the manners of the times, and also that for strong men to give way to strong drink was not unique with Paine. It is well known that Daniel Webster was at his best after having drunk deeply of Bacchus' cup; and President Lincoln's rejoinder to the busybody when told that General Grant was addicted to strong drink has become famous. Also, geniuses like Socrates, Burns and Poe were subject to over indulgence. Their biographers overlook and minimize this fault. Paine's enemies, however, never omit emphasizing his weakness.

Excessive drinking was characteristic of the 18th century. The laborers and workers were taken care of by the public houses. Outside these prominently displayed signs read:

Drunk one penny,
Dead drunk two pennies,
Clean straw three pennies.

Of the middle classes Dr. Samuel Johnson relates in his own Litchfield, "all decent people got drunk every night and were none the worse thought of". It was a period, too, when the prestige of quantity outranked that of quality. Among the nobility and the influential, individuals were known as one, two, three, or four bottle men, according to their ability of being able to consume a single or more bottles of wine at a meal.

To the more elect, drinking was not merely part of a meal but its consumption was accompanied by a procedure that almost bordered on a ritual. After the dinner it was customary for the ladies to withdraw for their tea, coffee, or game of cards. The men would then continue sitting around the table with the servants in a constant procession filling the empty glasses. The host would begin by offering a toast to the honor of his fair lady, and all would join in doing her homage by rising and draining their glasses. This example would be followed by the second toaster to the speedy disappearance of the accompanying round of wine. None was slighted and each was permitted to give expression to his amourous interest.

Usually the conversation started with a discussion of some recent political event or a speech in parliament, but gradually it degenerated to a less lofty character.

The liquor or wine not only reflected itself in the drinker's florid complexion but colored his conversation as well. The more spirits consumed the more vulgar and coarse became the talk until ribald jests and stories alone could interest the audience.

Two hours or more of this sort of diversion with the company more drunk than sober, the ladies would be invited back to the table. The gentlemen apparently were not adverse to showing themselves intoxicated but wished to avoid the spectacle of allow-

ing themselves to be seen while getting into that condition.

Those who indulged in these excesses (and they were the majority) showed their effect. Men at thirty looked haggard and drawn while at fifty, distinct evidence of old age and senility were common.

After his experience in the Luxembourg Paine never regained his former robust physique. On his release he was fifty-six years and one can say with safety that had he lived the dissolute life of an habitual drunkard, unworthy of the society of decent people, his constitution would have been undermined to such an extent that he would have died long before reaching the seventy-two years he did.

All Mrs. Grundy's accusations are extremely vague. Fortunately there is sufficient definite and concrete evidence available to refute these charges and expose them in their true colors as having had their origin solely in malice.

After Paine's return to America he lived for over a year at the same address in New York as John Fellows. That gentleman was a close friend of Jefferson and became, also, an intimate of Paine's. When inquiry was made concerning the latter's drinking habits, he averred that he had seen him during that period but once in his cups, and then he had been to a dinner party. This same neighbor disclosed that Paine had been in the habit of taking one glass of rum and water with sugar in it after dinner and another after supper and no more.

After Paine's stroke in 1806, he was no longer able to manage his farm at New Rochelle and leased it. He took up residence at the Bayeau Tavern which stood at that time on the road opposite the present site of the Old Paine cottage.

Owing to his illness he was unable to get about without assistance. A Mr. Burger was at that time

the clerk in a store in New Rochelle and served Paine with his liquor and also waited on him when sick. At the direction of his employer young Burger drove Paine about on errands or social visits and in that way saw much of him. The young clerk (who later became a watchmaker in New York) stated positively that he at no time saw Paine drunk. Furthermore, Paine never purchased more than a quart of rum a week for himself and friends. This one can readily accept when it is recalled that Paine in his old age, fearing the disgrace of poverty, became close and frugal, a characteristic rarely found in inebriates.

To off-set this disinterested testimony, we have that of those calumniators of Paine who never knew him personally and avowed enemies, like Gouverneur Morris, whose malice misleads no one.

That ambassador wrote Jefferson from France that Colonel Oswald called on him at his home one day with Paine who, being a little more drunk than usual, behaved extremely ill. Morris did not reveal, however, that he was at that time residing at Sainport over twenty-five miles from Paris. That anyone would have transported an intoxicated man that distance, over the abominable roads then common in France, taxes one's credulity.

The charge that Paine was a habitual drunkard has been repeated so often and without supporting evidence that aside from a sense of duty to one who has been greatly abused it seems needless to refute it.

Never once do the defamers exhibit sufficient courage to concede that he might have indulged occassionally to excess. Rather, they strive to convey the impression that he was an abandoned sot.

If the legion of little men who maligned Paine would have drunk a little of human kindness, his worthwhile qualities would be more generally recognized, and a

weakness (which his friends make no attempt to conceal) would be accepted as it was, a human frailty and not a vice.

De Brienne's position as French minister would hardly have permitted him to enter into international relationship with one devoid of even the rudiments of decency. Neither would Burke have entertained such a guest at Wentworth Hall (a singular honor paid Paine) if he had found him so unworthy of respect as these pictures would indicate.

Jefferson was beyond question the most erudite and cultured individual actively engaged in the struggle for liberty. He was a master of the Greek and Latin classics and could quote from French and English masterpieces with equal facility. One so reared does not make friends with slovens nor retain that friendship until death unless it had been based on something more substantial than convenience or propinquity. Jefferson shared many of Paine's views and there does not seem to be the slightest doubt that they collaborated in the drawing up of the Declaration of Independence.

It is inconceivable that three such outstanding men and others would have associated themselves with Paine if the picture offered by his enemies had been correct. How much more in harmony with Christian spirit would it have been for his calumniators to have sought out the good of the man, to emulate those fine examples of self denial, lofty aspiration, and devotion to high ideals which his life offers, than dip their pens in gall and vinegar.

Few men have ever been called upon to withstand the imprecatory barrage directed at Paine. No true friend of his claims him faultless and those calling his lapses grave are themselves guilty of graver.

CHAPTER XXX

His Recantation Sought

Heaven and earth were moved by spying zealous bigots and ignorant busybodies to make Paine recant. One of his arch enemies, James Cheetham, introduced the evidence of a simple servant girl who had been in the habit of bringing Paine his meals. One day, so the story reads, the patient asked her if she had ever read any of his works. She replied she had read his Age of Reason but found it so vile that she threw the book into the fire.

"How I wished I had done likewise", Paine is supposed to have confided to the serving maid.

The entire fabrication is so palpably false that it falls of its own weight. Why should Paine inquire of the opinion of this untutored girl, when the book had been published fifteen years? Opinions both for and against it had been current all that time. Nothing could have been gained from one incapable of even appraising it, either as an argument or as a literary effort. There is no evidence that Paine either before or after this imaginary conversation was supposed to have taken place, would lead one honestly to believe that he ever regretted writing the book.

Paine knew of the many attempts to put false statements of his recantation into his mouth, and then give them circulation with the air of genuiness. It was for this reason that he endeavored whenever possible to have some trusted friend present while he slept. This precaution was translated by those hostile to him as a sign of his weakness; that he feared the punishment of Heaven.

Although Paine was never known for his wit or humor there were times when he was capable of exhibiting glimpses of it mixed with bitterness. One day sometime before he died, Mrs. Ryder (with whom he was then living), in response to much loud knocking opened the front door. Her visitor was an elderly woman who, if she had possessed any beauty in her youth had by then been robbed of it by Time. Her hat was long outmoded, her dress, more suited for a circus than the garb of a visitor. In response to her inquiry, she was advised that Mr. Paine was at home, but asleep and could not be disturbed. Would Mrs. Ryder object if she waited until he awoke, as she had important business with him? The housekeeper permitted her to remain and when Paine awoke Mrs. Ryder escorted her to his room. This was not at all unusual as he was constantly receiving visitors, some curious, some solicitous. On inquiring the object of her visit she replied with great solemnity that she had been sent by the Lord to receive his recantation.

Looking at her with his piercing dark eyes Paine told her he did not believe she had any such message and furthermore, if the Lord had sent anyone, He would not have selected such an ugly old scarecrow. With that he turned his back on her.

Why did so many want Paine's abjuration? Would the doors of Heaven open just a bit wider for the recipients of that message? Were they interested in saving his soul from Hell or purgatory? Or would his recantation be a confirmation of the sanctity of Holy Writ? Was his revelation, his exposition of the Bible, so devastating that they feared for its existence, and that he had destroyed its value?

CHAPTER XXXI

Paine's Last Days

The time spent in the Luxembourg took its toll on Paine's body. While there he developed a blood condition that resulted in recurring attacks of boils and abcesses. These were ever a source of great pain. They required the constant attention which an old man was probably unable to give them. Deplorable as his physical condition must have been, it is indeed uncharitable, if not contemptible, for his calumniators to have used his distressing illlness as a basis for their charges of Paine's lack of personal cleanliness.

From a letter sent to his tenant Dean at New Rochelle, we learn that in the summer of 1806 he suffered a stroke of apoplexy. This was undoubtedly brought on by the series of insults heaped upon the man by those he had helped; by the campaign of illiberals to whom he tried to reveal God without aid of clergy or miracles; and to the unconscionable ingratitude of those in high office who refused to recognize the help he had so unstintingly rendered the nation.

Obsessed by the fear of becoming an object of charity he took up residence in more economical quarters at 63 Fulton Street, New York City. He later changed his address to 309 Bleecker Street, in Greenwich Village, that last remnant of Colonial homes not yet swallowed by progress. He moved there so as to be near Madame Bonneville, who was doing all she could to make Paine comfortable while earning her living as a teacher.

BLEECKER STREET HOUSE WHERE PAINE LIVED
Courtesy Thomas Paine National Historical Association

Thomas Paine lived in this house from July, 1808 to April, 1809. It stood at what is now 309 Bleecker Street, Greenwich Village, New York City until demolished in December, 1932.

Although he was attended by Dr. Romain one of the foremost physicians of his time, the patient did not improve. In order that Madame Bonneville might give him closer supervision, he moved again, this time to 59 Grove Street (just around the corner from his last address), where he occupied the entire rear portion of the house. This building no longer stands but on the wall of the one now occupying the site is a bronze plaque indicating the location of the house in which Thomas Paine died. Of the hundreds who pass it daily few ever stop to notice it, and are probably ignorant of the role played by the man whose passing is there so modestly recorded.

Some years after his death the city decided to cut through a new street parallel to Grove Street. The name suggesting itself most logically was of course Paine Street. To have done that would have caused the city fathers as much trouble as if they had glorified Benedict Arnold. To have brazenly honored one then held in such ill repute would have invited disaster and the committee decided to call it Reason Street. This was still however, too much distinction for some. A hardy soul suggested calling it Raison Street, giving it a French aspect but that was also too close to acclaiming the "infidel". Finally, in desperation, the spelling Raisin was put forward. Just why a wrinkled grape would honor Paine and still soothe certain sensibilities is hard to fathom. A touch of sardonic humor would have been lent to this farce had the street intended to perpetuate his name been called after the fruit from which wines are made. Today that thoroughfare is known as Barrow Street.

At the Grove Street address Madame Bonneville likewise took up her residence. Paine's condition was such that he now required a professional nurse constantly and a woman named Hedden was engaged. She was a pious bigot and managed to enlist the ser-

vices of a Dr. Manley who, in turn, used every method he could devise to have Paine recant. He even visited his patient at midnight, when spooks and witches and the devil are reputed to be most potent, to see if during that evil hour Paine did not hold communion with Satanic spirits. In his fanatic desire to secure some form of recantation this doctor was willing to prostitute his high profession.

Of what value, anyway, would a retraction have been from a dying old man, racked with pain and fever, when in his full senses he vehemently stood firm in his beliefs?

With death staring him in the face, Paine realized the purpose of those trying to put words into his mouth and so settled for all times what opinions he held. To several friends assembled including Madame Bonneville and Dr. Romaine, he solemnly re-affirmed his deistic beliefs.

To the end his mind was clear. Of bodily pain he suffered so much that his calumniators probably had some satisfaction in believing, as an answer to their prayers, that their God had at last punished His wayward son.

June 8, 1809, saw the passing of this great figure.

CHAPTER XXXII

Burial at New Rochelle

In his last will written six months before he died Paine expressed a desire to be buried in the Quaker Cemetery. He was skeptical of his request being acted on favorably and indicated, in the event his wish was not granted that his body be interred on his farm. Evidently the gentle Quakers could hate as well as the other orthodox churches for the permission was denied, and he was buried at New Rochelle.

At his death, being without clergy, the use of a hearse was also withheld and the body was transported from New York in the wagon usually reserved for the remains of paupers and criminals when being conveyed to Potter's Field.

The six at the grave side were Willet Hicks (an old Quaker friend), Madame Bonneville, her two sons, and two negroes, one of whom acted in the dual capacity of driver and grave digger. Hicks read a short prayer. At the foot of the grave Madame Bonneville placed one of her sons, while she remained at its head. As the body was being lowered the Frenchwoman, mindful of Paine's past, exclaimed: "Oh! Mr. Paine! My son stands here as testimony of the gratitude of America, and I for France". This account of Paine's burial is the one generally accepted.

Another had a wide circulation during the first half of the 19th century and reveals the malicious and mendacious atmosphere that colored accounts of his funeral as well as his general reputation. The account is taken from History of Westchester County, (in which New Rochelle is located) compiled by Reverend Robert Bolton.

As though the truth needed support, we quote from the preface of the work—written by a brother of the historian author.

"There never was a more careful compiler of history than my late brother. He always asked for proof and then weighed it".

If the following "weighed proofs" are certified truths then the compiler owes posterity the unweighed ones, withheld: "Paine's first wife died because of his bad treatment; his second wife obtained a divorce; Franklin found him a garret writer in London; his own biographer remarks it (Common Sense) is defective in arrangement, inelegant in diction, with a few exceptions showing little profundity of argument, no facility of remarks, no extent of research, and no classical allusions and cannot be appealed to as an authority on government. Its popularity was owing entirely to the critical junction of the times.

"Companion of the bloodthirsty Robespierre we find him next sitting at the trial of the innocent Louis.

"He was subsequently confined in a dungeon of Paris where he had a narrow escape.

"Body transported in a hearse from New York to New Rochelle driven by a white man accompanied by a negro to dig the grave. The body was interred near site of present monument.

"The following lines are said to have been uttered by an old colored man, Jack Hull, over the remains of the notorious Thomas Paine author of the RIGHTS OF MAN and COMMON SENSE at the open grave:

'Poor Tom Paine! here he lies
Nobody laughs and nobody cries,
Where he's gone and how he fares,
Nobody knows and nobody cares.'

"In 1819 remains disintered: dismissed as secretary of Committee of Foreign Affairs 'for a scandalous breach of trust; and this was decreed by the assembled wisdom of the States' ".

The shallowness of these charges and their patent falsity are only worthy of contempt; but since these and others equally untrue are given credence, they cannot be ignored.

There is nothing either in the records here or abroad to sustain the statement that Paine's first wife died through ill treatment. He was a humanitarian if there ever was one, and his entire subsequent life confirms this. Mortality in the early part of the 18th century with its lack of knowledge of sanitary laws and medicine ran high. It is nearer the truth to say hers was an unfortunate early natural death. With nothing known to the contrary, such a demise should be accepted for people do sometimes die young.

Paine did not desert, divorce, or abandon his second wife. After living with her for three years each realized that they were not temperamentally suited for each other. Owing to the absence of divorce laws in England, a separation agreement was drawn up which was not only signed by Paine and his wife, but witnessed by a local clergyman. On Paine's leaving, he turned over to her all he possessed. He arrived in America penniless. With no legal obligation he, whenever his finances permitted, sent her money—always anonymously. Apparently the lady in question seemed satisfied; it is hardly fitting for a snooping busybody to attempt to cast reflections on an arrangement which was honorable in every respect.

Paine was never kept in a dungeon. The Luxembourg had once been the home of the kings of France and while the prisoners were kept under lock and key their prison was far from being the place usually associated with dungeons. However, if he had been con-

fined in one, wherein would that reflect dishonorably on him? Nobody suffers imprisonment of any kind even in a former royal mansion, through choice or desire.

The Reverend Bolton does not mention which of Paine's biographers he refers to when citing the author's lack of literary style. Judging from the date of publication of the Bolton work (1848), it must have been Cheetham. This life of Paine is so at variance with the truth, that it lacks all authority.

The reference of Paine's being a companion of Robespierre is little short of being ridiculous when documentary evidence is available showing that the latter had Paine listed for the guillotine when fate overcame the French leader.

Certainly Paine sat at Louis' trial, and infidel, atheist, apostate, or whatever he was, he showed there more Christian charity than did the Reverend Robert Bolton, member of the cloth, in maligning the character of a man who had dedicated his whole life to the service of his fellows.

Lastly, he speaks of the old Negro Jack Hull. Whoever induced the poor fellow to repeat those lines (if they ever were said), had some ulterior motive. They were never the spontaneous outburst of a laboring Negro.

In conclusion, one asks, why should a Negro belittle or deride Paine? Was he not almost the only person in the entire country who had spoken and written for their freedom? Was he not the moving spirit in liberting six thousand Negro slaves in Pennsylvania? The whole charge is an aspersion on that race, and attempts to lower it to the level of the vile creature masquerading in clerical garb who gave circulation to this impossible tale.

CHAPTER XXXIII

Attack on Madame Bonneville

Sometime prior to his death Paine had contributed to the American Citizen, a paper published by James Cheetham. Later he discontinued and wrote for The Public Advertiser, a new paper edited by a Mr. Frank. This naturally took Paine's followers with him. The change infuriated Cheetham and from that time he became Paine's implacable enemy. The publisher's hostility carried beyond the grave.

Not daring to oppose or attack Paine while alive, he waited until after his death when he attempted to connect the good name of Madame Bonneville with that of his former contributor's.

Repugnant as the course must have been, she resorted to the courts for protection, suing Cheetham for slander and libel. One of her strongest witnesses was Carver, who under oath testified that "he had never seen the slightest indication of any meretricious or illicit commerce between Paine and Madame Bonneville, that they never were alone together and that the three Bonneville children were alike the objects of Paine's care".

During the course of the suit, Madame Bonneville's attorney, Samson, denounced and excoriated the defendant so roundly, that he cried out to the court for protection, recalling Macaulay's report of Warren Hasting's writhing under Burke's verbal lash.

The lawyer arose and with great histrionic effect walked slowly toward the jury box. He began in a conversational tone gradually rising until the very walls reverberated.

"If he complains of personalities, he who is hardened in every gross abuse, he who lives reviling and reviled, who might construct himself a monument with no other materials but those records to which he is a party, and in which he stands enrolled as an offender; if he cannot sit still to hear his accusation, but calls for the protection of the court against a counsel whose duty it is to make his crime appear, how does *she* deserve protection, whom he has driven to the sad necessity of coming here to vindicate her honor from those personalities he has lavished on her"?

Madame Bonneville was awarded a unanimous verdict in her favor.

Paine and Cheetham had never been friends, merely maintaining business relations, yet on Paine's death, Cheetham expected to have himself indicated as one of the heirs. However, the estate was left (aside from a few personal bequests) to Madame Bonneville and the children.

Cheetham's disappointment served to intensify his animus against his former contributor and helps to explain the great lengths he went to in seeking to hurt and defame him.

Paine's two unfortunate marriages were the only romances of his entire life. This should not be construed that he was either a misogamist or a misogynist.

Aside from the cowardly attempt to slander Madame Bonneville and Paine, the swish of a skirt is entirely absent from his career, his unromantic marriages excepted.

While resting at Thetford (1789), he received a letter from Kitty Nicholson telling him of her intended marriage to Colonel Few. He had known her at Bordentown where she had attended school. In the course of his congratulatory reply he expressed faith in marriage as an institution—"the married state has not a sincerer friend than I am"—in the course of this

same letter, one written and intended only for the recipient, Paine expresses a feeling of nostalgia revealing more of the man than if he had prepared it for publication. "Though I am in as elegant style of acquaintance here as any American that ever come over, my heart and myself are three thousand miles apart; and I had rather see my horse Button in his own stable, or eating the grass of Bordentown or Morrisania than see all the pomp and show of Europe". Here we have Paine for all his position longing for his home—for as Pliny wrote eighteen centuries before: "Home is where the heart is".

While in retreat in Faubourg St. Denis, several outstanding women who had been his friends continued that relationship. Among these were Mary Wollstonecraft, authoress of VINDICATION OF THE RIGHTS OF WOMEN and Mme. Roland who later ended her life so glamorously on the scaffold. The people of the 18th century, emulating the example of their royalty and those in high position, became, like them, vulgar and base. Its men and women lacked moral restraint; mistresses, paramours, and amorados were commonplace and filled recognized places in society. Clubs like the Mohocks and the Medmenhams Brotherhood of London were organized solely for profligate activities.

During his return to Europe, it was Paine's privilege to avail himself of a freedom of action that would have invited censure and opprobrium if attempted in America. Although he could have participated with immunity in a life of free and easy virtue, he did not. What a tasty morsel would have been afforded the scandal-mongers at home had they been able to expose Paine as being involved in some affairs de coeur. How they would have cried about his having abandoned his God and consigned his body to the devil.

CHAPTER XXXIV

Body Exhumed by Cobbett

For most mortals, burial is the end of their earthly wanderings. But not so with Paine.

During the last decade of the 18th century, William Cobbett an English agitator, attracted a great deal of attention. He was a militant crusader, and having risen from the laboring class was able to understand their difficulties. He had little or no regard for libel laws and, wielding a pen which invited conflict with them, often found himself fined and imprisoned for the material he wrote.

He was one of those ebulliant souls who never do anything except in the full flood of their enthusiasm. Along about 1792, finding the atmosphere of England "too warm for his comfort", he decided to visit America. Before sailing he had stopped at Paris and there came into possession of a hostile account of Paine's life written by George Chalmers. The work, like several subsequent ones, was more of an attempt to denigrate Paine's reputation than to set down an unbiased record of his life. Cobbett, though, used it as his appreciation of Paine.

On learning of Paine's death, he gave way to violent expressions of pleasure, dancing and shouting with glee, with all the wild abandon of reckless joy. So happy was he over the demise of one who in life had neither hurt nor hated him that he called the muses to his aid; but Satan answered, and the exultant Cobbett sang:

"He is crammed in a dungeon and preached
upon reason
Blasphemous the Almighty, lived in filth
like a hog
Is abandoned in death; interred like a dog".

Later, becoming better acquainted with Paine's work, he made his own estimate of the man and was compelled to revise his opinion of him completely. From a rabid detractor and critic, he was converted to an ardent admirer.

Cobbett was greatly interested in introducing Paine's liberal ideas in England. Believing that his countrymen only needed a standard around which to rally he resolved to bring Paine's body back to the land of his birth.

One must revert four thousand years to encounter a people who exhume human bodies as part of their ceremonies. It is a far cry from Cheops to New Rochelle but, animated by a similar urge of devotion, this misguided zealot succeeded in disinterring Paine's body.

There is a rather detailed account available of Cobbet's ghoulish adventure. In October, 1819, he resolved to put his plan of stealing the body into operation. Accompanied by a couple of men and a box wagon, Cobbett left New York for New Rochelle in the dead of night. Arriving there early in the morning before most of the villagers had arisen, Cobbett was successful in exhuming the body, but not without first being seen by a neighbor, a Mrs. Charity Badeau, who lived in a house across the road from the grave. She gave the alarm and Sheriff James Seacord, Jr. after some delay undertook the pursuit. No one could tell definitely the route taken, and Seacord followed the road as far as Harem Bridge. On inquiring, he learned that no wagon such as he described had passed

over the bridge that morning. This necessitated a change of pursuit and he hurried to the King's Bridge. There he learned that the wagon sought had passed over the bridge sometime before going to Manhattan. To follow it further would have been useless and the matter was abandoned.

Although Corbett's activity can only merit censure, his sincerity is not to be questioned. He honestly believed Paine to have been a great leader and reformer. When pressed as to what he intended to do with the relic, he replied, "I have done myself the honor to disinter his bones. I have removed them from New Rochelle and they are now on their way to England. When I myself return, I shall gather together the people of Liverpool and Manchester in one assembly with those of London and those bones will effect the reformation of England in Church and State".

Having run the risk and taken the trouble Cobbett was dismayed when his enthusiasm was not shared by the English public. Instead of the body receiving the homage due a great soul and its rescuer public acclaim, its presence met with almost universal disapproval. Instead of the relic creating good will, it was often the cause of rioting and disturbances.

Civilized men have ever respected the sanctity of the dead but even this was denied Paine.

The shock of casting the bones of the unwanted and outcasts of Habana upon their Osario is assuaged by the attendant religious ceremony. No loving hand was present to stay Cobbett, no voice was raised in protest.

What finally became of Paine's bones remains a mystery. At one time Cobbett, unable to pay his debts they were seized by the sheriff. Being redeemed, they suffered a similar fate when Cobbett's

son (into whose possession they passed after the father's death) became a bankrupt. It is sad to note that the mortal remains of this great liberal were booted about with the pots and kettles of an insolvent debtor's estate.

CHAPTER XXXV

Paine's Position in American Literature

It is indicative of Paine's depth of mind as well as its versatility that he was interested not only in matters in which he had a personal concern, but was willing to treat of subjects in which he could have only an academic interest.

To him, duelling contests were judicial combats. How could justice be served, he asks, if based on the superior skill of the swordsman or marksman? The guilty one, merely on the score of being more ferocious or more crafty would be declared victor. As he points out, men of honor had too often sacrified their lives to scoundrels.

He regarded this practice so common in his day as barbaric and reminiscent of trial by ordeal. What advance does it show from the ancient method of determining the guilty, based on the defendant's ability to hold pieces of hot iron or walk on heated plow shares without injury? The misguided souls of those days were conceited to the point of believing that God would be interested and intervene in their petty quarrels by indicating the guilty.

Paine's views on duelling are today almost universally accepted. Germany being the only civilized country in the world giving it legal standing.

Paine was the pioneer in America advocating equal rights for women. As early in 1775 there appeared in the Pennsylvania Magazine his essay entitled An Occasional Letter on the Female Sex. In this treatise he traced the inferior position to which women

were relegated in prehistoric times as being due to the quantity and quality of the food supplied her. The man, warrior and provider, must have the choice of each and so the idea of her inferior position originated, remained, and was perpetuated.

He concurred with the Greeks "that the most virtuous women are those least talked of". On the other hand, the acceptance of equal rights for the modern woman has opened many new avenues of activities, has given them opportunities "to be talked about", and yet in no way casts any reflection on their virtues.

Seraglios were nothing to Paine, but prisons "where beauty in bondage awaits the caprice of a master". They were a condition that no benevolent God had ever ordained.

The Almighty gave to each sex the same desires for life and happiness; made them likewise capable of bearing both joy and sorrow. For either to arrogate to itself a superior position and an unjust proportion of pleasure is a usurpation never intended by the Creator.

Not infrequently in an appreciation of Paine as a writer, the critic permits his opinion of him as a man to color his judgment of him as an author.

Bearing in mind that it is an important (if not more so) to appraise the results accomplished by works than by the words used, it is sometimes difficult however to separate the man from his messages. It is infinitely better to consummate a good deed inspired by poor grammar than commit a wrong, based on perfect syntax.

Paine as a writer has been subjected to a great deal of criticism both favorable and otherwise. Much of the latter based on an opinion of standards set by Addison, Steele, and the Spectator. To them unless a writer resorted to flowery, ornate language or

expressed himself in word pictures, his offering was not up to the best standards.

Such critics completely lost sight of what a reader's reaction might be. For a description of some idyllic scene or a Utopian state, such verbiage might be in order; when the message deals with realities the language should be virile, universal in appeal and comprehensible to the casual reader.

In this respect Paine showed more perspicacity than most of his contemporaries. They spoke above their audience so that the true import of their messages was often lost. Paine's thoughts and arguments were couched in words that needed no interpreter and when these were spiced with arresting epigrams they burnt indelibly into the minds of his audiences.

Many of his contemporaries wrote endeavoring to establish a literary reputation. Paine never sought fame as a writer. Had that been in his mind, his essays and articles in the Pennsylvania Magazine would not have been signed by his various *noms de plume* or buried under anonymity. Neither would COMMON SENSE have been issued as having been written by "And Englishman". He wrote when he had something to say and he usually clothed his thoughts in language that was characteristically his.

He felt the text of his pamphlet and essays and the contents of his books were of more importance than his name. Much of the adverse comment was nurtured on jealousy. The works of no writer of his time equalled his in popularity.

Within a year of his arrival as an abscure and unknown failure, he became the outstanding pamphleteer and literary figure of the colonies. This position was recognized by the University of Philadelphia (now the University of Pennsylvania) for on July 4th, 1780 it conferred on Paine the degree of Master of Arts.

He had a distinct aversion to books, libraries, and pedantic learning. He always maintained that knowledge should come from experience. It was the reservoir from which he drew for his ideas. In his RIGHTS OF MAN he stated: "I derived considerable information; indeed I seldom passed five minutes of my life however circumstanced, to which I did not acquire considerable knowledge".

Paine could rarely be found when his pockets were not jammed with newspapers. These he read and reread so that, with his prodigious memory (he could at will repeat the entire text of any of his works), they actually became part of him.

He had a penchant for incorporating in his essays phrases or sentences that are as difficult to forget as quotations from others are to recall. There is something stirring and arresting about quotations like: "These are the times that try men's souls", or "Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered", or "What we obtain too cheap, we esteem too lightly".

Paine was gifted with a clarity of expression that left no doubt as to his meaning and a lucidity of argument that baffled his opponents. He took a singular pride in maintaining that all his opinions originated with himself and even his enemies conceded his shrewdness and the directness of the points he raised.

Paine never wrote for posterity. That his books should be published and in circulation nearly one hundred and fifty years after being written would undoubtedly have greatly surprised him.

The quality of his poetry though was such that it cannot bear repetition nor would its author's prestige be heightened by quotation.

Since his writings were intended for his generation a correct evaluation of Paine as a writer can best be gained from opinions expressed by those for whom they were intended.

Washington, although skeptical of the colonists ever taking up arms against the mother country, conceded in a private letter to Joseph Reed that Paine's COMMON SENSE "was working a powerful change in the minds of many men".

Franklin, himself no neophyte when writing, remarked of Paine: "Others can rule, many can fight but only Paine can write for us the English language".

Thomas Jefferson was in the habit of not only consulting with Paine on governmental affairs but not infrequently submitted his own writings for criticism and even ventured the opinion (quite in line with Franklin's) that Paine was the most effective author of their day. "No writer has exceeded him", he stated, "in ease of familiarity of style, in perspicacity of expression, happiness of elucidation, and in simplicity and unassuming language".

John Quincy Adams said Paine crystallized public opinion and was the first factor in bringing about the Revolution.

John Randolph expressed his appreciation of Paine's writings saying that "he attributed the Revolution first in George III and second to Thomas Paine".

So valuable did members of Congress regard Paine, that Washington joined Robert Morris and Robert Livingston in urging on that body that he be regularly employed by the government. They saw the urgency of not only keeping the people informed of the progress of their fight, but to arouse them into action and not permit an occasional defeat or set-back to cool their ardor. Paine was not so engaged, but recognition of his preëminence as the first writer of Revolutionary times was thereby acknowledged by men in a position to gauge the effect of his writings.

Coming down to our own times the late President Wilson added his confirmation to that of the founders

of the nation in his commentary, "No writing ever more instantly swung men to its humor".

To all of which we might add Elbert Hubbard's appreciation. "Paine was a writing man—the very first writing man in America—and I am humiliated that we had to get him from England. Paine is the first American writer who had any literary style and we have not had so many since, but that you may count them on the fingers of one hand".

Paine's writings were almost always of a controversial nature. When his opponents found themselves either bested or without adequate argument or reply, they often resorted to attacking him personally and not infrequently with unmeasured violence.

Finding himself always occupying a position of importance whether his stay was in America, France, or England, Paine developed a vanity complex so that his conceit often aroused the ire of his critics excessively.

Of the author of RIGHTS OF MAN, Gilbert Wakefield wrote, "Everyman who feels himself solicitous for the dignity of human nature, who glories in the prerogative of rationality or is charmed by the loveliness of virtue, will observe with humiliation and sympathy, a debasement of his species in the most astonishing unprincipled and unparalleled arrogance to the last of such a contemptuous self-opinioned ill informed writer. His excess of folly will be lamented by all his friends not estranged, like himself from shame and modesty, and his enemies will read his outrageous vanities, united to such an excess of ignorance and stupor with that pleasure which results from a just expression of mingled abhorrence, derision and contempt. For my part his unprecedented infatuation almost strikes me dumb with amazement. I am not acquainted with such a compound of vanity and ig-

norance as Thomas Paine in the records of literary history".

In a similar vein, Etienne Dumont wrote of Paine picturing him at the height of his popularity in France.

"His egregious conceit and self sufficiency disgusted me. He was drunk with vanity. If you believe him, it was he who had done everything in America. He was an absolute caricature of the vainest of Frenchmen. He fancied that his book on the Rights of Man ought to replace every other book in the world and he told us roundly that, if it were in his power to exterminuate every library in existence he would do so without hesitation in order to eradicate the errors they contained, and begin with the Rights of Man a new chain of ideas and principles. Yet Paine was a man of talent full of imagination, gifted with popular eloquence and wielded not without skill the weapon of irony".

To have been dined, wined, and feted as Paine had been since his arrival at Calais and not aroused a certain amount of conceit would be asking too much of human nature. At its worst it was nothing more than a foible, a weakness and not a sin.

Not to be outdone by the European critics, Johnathan Trumbull, then secretary to John Jay, and who later gained fame as an artist, aired his opinion of Paine to the "gentry" with whom, as a member of the diplomatic corp, he came in contact.

His comments are recorded by Farrington in his diary, and he reports that he spoke of Tom Paine with aversion. "His temporary pamphlet entitled Common Sense gave Tom for a while credit in America, but he was at last seen through to be a man disposed by nature to disturb the peace and order of society".

Coming from the rugged colonies, ushered into the presence of royalty, flattered and fawned over by

society, the young man evidently said what he thought his audience wanted to hear.

Jay, for all his brilliancy, was not a liberal. At home he aligned himself with the conservative faction under Hamilton and John Adams in opposing Jefferson. Unquestionably Trumbull's opinion reflected that of his superior. It can also be accepted as indicative of the opinion of those at home who lacked faith in the stability of the new government for whose existence Paine was in no small measure responsible.

Two years after Paine died, one of the first biographies of him appeared, written by the hostile Cheetham, against whom Madame Bonneville later brought suit. The work bristles with inaccuracies and the author regarded it as a suitable vehicle from which he could disseminate slander and falsehood without making himself legally liable. It served though to form the opinion of many who had no opportunity of learning the truth.

Paine returned to America in 1802 and became a rather frequent visitor of Jefferson in the White House. The following is an extract from Cheetham's LIFE OF THOMAS PAINE.

"In October 1802 accordingly he arrived at Baltimore under the protection of the President Jefferson but was no longer an object of curiosity, unless among the lower classes of emmigrants from England, Scotland, or Ireland. With them it appears, he drank grog in the tap rooms morning, noon and night, admired and praised, strutting and swaggering about showing himself to all and shaking hands with all, but the leaders of the party to which he had attached himself, paid him no attention. He had brought with him to America a woman named Madame Bonneville whom he had seduced from her husband with her two sons, and whom he seems to have treated with the utmost meanness and tyranny. By what charms

he had seduced this lady, we are not told. He was now sixty-four years old, diseased in body from habitual drunkenness and gross in manners".

It is inconceivable that a cultured gentleman like Jefferson, then president of the United States, would have permitted an individual such as Cheetham described to visit him at the White House and much less regard him as a friend and intimate.

Still this picture persisted, was accepted as true, and given currency for many years.

Others felt that Paine could always be found where England had an enemy. Rarely has an innocent man ever been made to suffer a greater slander.

Had it not been for the insistent urging of Franklin, and fortified by the letter of introduction from this most prominent of Americans, Paine would never have emigrated to the colonies.

Paine left America in 1787 to visit his parents and to further his bridge projects. He had no idea or plan for taking part in either the French Revolution or the English unrest. Had he intended becoming active in European affairs, he would have settled his personal matters at home before going abroad. That he retained both his Bordentown house and his farm as well as maintained his favorite horse Button, gives color and support to the claim that he only expected to remain in Europe a short time.

Much of the visit which grew to a stay of fifteen years was involuntary. To describe him as a fomenter of discontent and an enemy of his native land is a slander.

He opposed the English government, like Wilkes and Cobbett, on its own territory, because he was battling for the mass of English citizenry. He differentiated between the people and the government. The one he supported, the other he opposed. As he later expressed it, "the English rulers, like Robes-

pierre were covered with crimes". That he took refuge in France was only natural after the decision of his "dinner" jury, which so often dispensed justice as though it were an unknown quality. Did his critics expect him to await calmly for the arrival of the hangman?

When he fled to France, Great Britain and the French were at peace. That they later became involved in hostilities can in no wise compromise Paine, and to seek to place him in an equivocal position because of a subsequent quarrel lacks honesty and a disregard for facts.

While Paine numbered his friends by the legion, he could not help but develop at the same time a not inconsiderable number of enemies. The reason for this, one commentator feels, was entirely due to Paine's activities at various periods of his career.

"Because he is faithless to his mother country, then to the religion of his ancestors: he sneers at English tradition, denies the divinity of Christ, so Great Britain will have nothing to do with him, he votes against the death of Louis XVI so the French Revolutionists will have nothing to do with him. He is rude to Washington so America will have nothing to do with him".

If Paine was faithless to his mother country, then so were the other English born colonists who fought in the Revolution. Why single Paine out and attempt to attach to him the odium of the traitor, and glorify the other patriots?

Why had he no right to scoff at English traditions when in his opinion they were working a hardship on people too impotent to rebel? What is so sacrosanct about them?

If he denied the divinity of Christ, he was only rejecting then, a doctrine no longer universally accepted.

His was the crime of progress.

That he voted against the death penalty for Louis XVI stamps him as superior to those who condemned him. His defence of the monarch was not only courageous but the acceptance of his plea would have avoided the Reign of Terror.

If he was rude to Washington, the latter was remiss in his duty to a friend, an obligation more fundamental than the indiscreet act of an outraged man who nearly suffered death through the inertia of the other.

With what boldness or stupidity does the writer of this comment attempt to overbalance Paine's brilliant aid in establishing the nation with the effect of the letters to Washington?

If America had nothing to do with Paine it was to her shame. Like weaklings for generations, the people in England and the colonies had permitted their opinions to be formed for them by the pulpit; and when the clergy, fearful of the effect of Paine's AGE OF REASON, denounced him, their congregations followed. The Washington incident was of minor consequence.

W. E. Woodman in his LIFE OF GEORGE WASHINGTON refers to Thomas Paine: "as we meditate on his bold speech we realize that he was an 18th century Lenin without home or tradition; without love or fear and like Voltaire, he attained intellectual freedom at the cost of respectability. COMMON SENSE as well as the AMERICAN CRISES and the AGE OF REASON belongs to the literature of desperate men. Paine was an intellectual desperado of the first rank".

The tone of this censure is unduly harsh and hardly does its author credit. If it is directed against Paine because of his letters to Washington it is unjust, since the former had ample cause to complain about the President's lack of action. That the letters sent, were excessively severe all friends of Paine regret.

Washington himself expressed other and more appreciative sentiments of Paine's aid, and are certainly more authoritative than those of some contemporary writer of today.

The reference to Lenin is not clear, since the Russian is known today (in addition to his other activities) for his extirpation of all churches.

Paine never advocated the suppression of any church regardless of how much he might differ with it. Paine always sponsored justice by law, never by force. A more difficult reconciliation between the principles of Paine and Lenin can hardly be conceived.

Andrew Jackson enjoyed an enviable reputation for honesty which reflects itself in whatever opinion he expressed. Should not an unbiased student accept the estimation of Jackson who during his life knew Paine and Paine's work, in preference to that of some modern author seeking publicity at the expense of the dead?

Old Hickory once said, "Thomas Paine needs no monument made by hands; he has erected himself a monument in the hearts of all lovers of liberty. The RIGHTS OF MAN will be more enduring than all the piles of marble and granite man can erect".

It is true Thomas Paine was an agitator, but a constructive one. If he fought to destroy the oppressive British rule in America he helped rear in its place a government based on justice and equality; if he opposed the autocratic monarchical system in France he desired to assist establishing in its place one based on a written constitution; if he opposed the corrupt British government he sought to help reform it with liberal and more equitable laws.

He was unpopular for but one reason and to seek any other is needless. His reforms and his innovations were contrary to the existing order of affairs. He was in advance of his times and the majority felt

he was leading them, whether in politics, religion, or economics, into unchartered seas. Today, with knowledge more common, his proposals are looked upon as being the work of one who possessed wisdom and foresight to an unusual degree.

Never was any man in any country attacked so viciously during his life and so persistently after his death as Thomas Paine. Never did his most implacable enemies dare to charge him with dishonesty, deceit, treachery, or any of those other attributes which denote bad or wicked men.

Insults, slurs and epithets are the affronts mediocrity has ever heaped on genius. To be singled out is complimentary. Who ever heard of one of a mob attracting notice?

With a vindictiveness hard to fathom and based on such inconsequential lapses as being an occasional drinker, untidy in his personal appearance, or an atheist, those who sought to defame him have succeeded, for over a hundred years, in depriving Paine of his earned place as one of America's greatest builders and leaders.

Americans with justifiable pride point to their record of over one hundred and fifty years of liberty but how many of them realize that this Liberty and the Freedom of their country, is due to a half German King of England and an unknown failure—an immigrant also from England?

Paine's ideology was universal personal Liberty with Humanity. Yet ironically the three most liberal governments today were each at different times guilty of offenses against this apostle of Freedom.

England, the land of his birth, outlawed him. France, who called him to help frame her constitution, imprisoned and very nearly guillotined him, and America, to whom he first suggested and then urged inde-

pendence, and later revived its faltering flagging spirits, ignored him.

A true measure of this man can best be gained from his reply to Benjamin Franklin when the latter remarked, "where Liberty is, there is my home". To this Paine replied, "Where Liberty is *not* there is my home".

It was hoped the World War would bring political freedom to Europe. Instead we see three fourths of its population today in the control of dictators. Stalin, Mussolini, and Hitler are more absolute than the monarchs who inspired Paine to his life's work. Is mankind regressing? Does it no longer value freedom? Was Il Duce correct when he spoke of the putrescent corpse of the Goddess of Liberty?

CHAPTER XXXVI

An Appreciation

Rarely lacking in vocabulary or degree of bitterness, Paine's most vehement critics never questioned his sincerity. His statement, therefore, indicating a faith in his God written when he knew his end could not be long delayed, must be accepted as a true affirmation of that trust.

Realizing his illness was mortal and death near, with his strength nearly spent, but his mind clear and vigorous, Paine wrote his last will:

"I herewith take my final leave of them (his heirs) and the world. I have lived an honest and useful life to mankind; my time has been spent in doing good and I die in perfect composure and resignation to the will of my Creator God".

To those who still defame him, this creed is like an enduring answer from the beyond. How many who sought to drag his name into the gutter could truthfully subscribe to one equally as lofty?

Had he led men to death and destruction, he would have been carried to his grave on a gun cassion with soldiers and banners and bands; had he led his fellows in prayer before high altars and relics, the priestcraft with all their pagentry would have accompanied the body; had he by accident been born to purple royalty, regiments and guards of honor with furled flags would have been his funeral cortege.

Courtesy Thomas Paine National Historical Association
Courtesy Greenwich Village Historical Society

BRONZE TABLET ON SITE WHERE PAINE DIED

Erected on front of building at 59 Grove Street, New York City on June 9, 1923 by the Greenwich Village Historical Society.

But he who brought Liberty to three million souls; the founder of a nation; the emancipator who broke the bonds of superstition and revealed God without creed and without dogma, was denied the simple homage his life and his work had earned.

APPENDIX

"I never tire of reading Paine".—*Abraham Lincoln.*

"We never had a sounder intelligence in this Republic. He was the equal of Washington in making American liberty possible. Where Washington performed Paine devised and wrote. The deeds of the one in the field were matched by the deeds of the other with his pen. I consider Paine our greatest political thinker".—*Thomas A. Edison.*

"History is to ascribe to Paine the Revolution".
—*John Adams.*

"To me America without Thomas Paine is unthinkable".—*Marquis de Lafayette.*

"When the sentence of Louis XVI came under discussion he (Paine) alone advised what would have done honor to France if it had been adopted,—the offer to the king of an asylum in America".
—*Madam de Stael.*

"What thou hast done for the happiness and liberty of thy country, I have in vain attempted to do for mine. I have been less fortunate, but not more guilty. They are sending us to the scaffold. Well, my friend, we must go to it gaily".—*M. Danton.*

"It has been very generally propagated throughout the Continent that I wrote the pamphlet *'Common Sense'*. I could not have written in so manly and

strikingly a style. His sentiments of the abilities of America and of the difficulty of a reconciliation with Great Britain, are generally approved. Washington's sword would have been wielded in vain had it not been supported by the pen of Paine".

—*John Adams.*

" '*Common Sense*', that celebrated pamphlet which prepared the mind of the people for Independence".

—*Edmund Burke.*

"No writer has exceeded him in ease and familiarity of style, in perspicuity of expression, happiness of elucidation, and in simple and unassuming language".

—*Thomas Jefferson.*

"One of the largest figures in literary history".

—*George Brandes.*

"Others can rule, many can write but only Paine can write for us the English tongue".

—*Benjamin Franklin.*

"No writing ever more instantly swung men to its humor".—*Woodrow Wilson.*

"Paine was a writing man—the very first writing man in America—and I am humiliated we had to get him from England. Paine is the first American writer who had a literary style, and we have not had so many since, but that you may count them on the fingers of one hand".—*Elbert Hubbard.*

"I honor the memory of him and am glad to know that it shines brighter and brightly as time goes on".

—*John Burroughs.*

"It is not necessary for me to tell you how much all your countrymen—I speak of the great mass of the people—are interested in your welfare. They have not forgotten the history of their own Revolution, and the difficult scenes through which they had passed; nor do they review its several stages without reviving in their bosoms a due sensibility of the merits of those who served them in that great and arduous conflict. The crime of ingratitude has not yet stained, and I hope will never stain, our national character. You are considered by them as not only having rendered important services in our Revolution, but as being, on a more extensive scale, the friend of human rights, and a distinguished and able advocate in favor of Public liberty. To the welfare of Thomas Paine the Americans are not, nor can they be indifferent".—*James Monroe.*

"This generation will never appreciate, still less approve, the service rendered to the cause of American Independence by Thomas Paine. Paine was more needed in 1775 than was Jefferson or Washington. Without his '*Common Sense*', written in that year, we should not have had the Declaration of Independence in 1776; and, till that Declaration there was little of the presence of Washington and perhaps still less of his military service, needed. Some wise men believe Thomas Paine the author of the Declaration of Independence. That probably cannot be proved. But whoever has read his '*Common Sense*' and '*Crisises*' will not doubt that he could have written every word of it. And whoever reads his '*Rights of Man*' can as easily believe that he might have written the Constitution of the United States also! All but its Slavery Compromise, to which he would never have set his hand,—never"!—*Parker Pillsbury.*

"By private letters which I have lately received from Virginia, I find that '*Common Sense*' is working a powerful change there in the minds of many men. Thus his '*Common Sense*' and many of his '*Crisis*' were well timed, none, I believe, who will turn to the epocha at which they were published, will deny".

—*George Washington.*

"Thomas Paine needs no monument made by hands; he has erected himself a monument in the hearts of all lovers of Liberty. The '*Rights of Man*' will be more enduring than all the piles of marble and granite man can erect".—*Andrew Jackson.*

"I challenge the world to show that Thomas Paine ever wrote one line, one word, in favor of tyranny,—in favor of immorality; one line, one word, against what he believed to be for the highest and best interest of mankind; one line, one word, against justice, charity or liberty".—*Robert Ingersoll.*

"I always considered Mr. Paine a gentleman, a pleasant companion, and a good-natured and intelligent man, decidedly temperate".—*Aaron Burr.*

"'*Common Sense*' burst from the press with an effect which has rarely been produced by types and paper in any age or country".—*Dr. Benjamin Rush.*

"I have frequently, with pleasure, reflected on your service to my native and your adopted country. Your '*Common Sense*' and your '*Crisis*' unquestionably awakened the public mind, and led the people loudly to call for a Declaration of our National Independence".—*Samuel Adams.*

"The '*Rights of Man*' seems as clear and as simple as the first rules of arithmetic".—*Charles James Fox.*

"It is performance of which any man might be proud; and I sincerely regret that our country could not have offered sufficient inducements to have retained as a permanent citizen a man so thoroughly republican in sentiment, and fearless in the expression of his opinions".—*Richard Henry Lee.*

"Can nothing be done in our Assembly for poor Paine? Must the merits and services of *'Common Sense'* continue to glide down the stream of time, unnoticed by this country? His writings certainly have had a powerful effect in the public mind—ought they then not to meet as adequate return. He is poor, he is chagrined! and almost if not altogether in despair of relief. His views are moderate—a decent independence is, I believe, all he aims at. Should he not obtain this"?—*George Washington.*

"Where liberty is, there is my country".
—*Benjamin Franklin.*

"Where liberty is *not,* there is my home".
—*Thomas Paine.*

"The people of France were running headlong into Atheism, and I had the work translated in their own language to stop them in that career and fix them in the first article of every man's creed who has any creed at all—I believe in God".
—*Thomas Paine from letter to Samuel Adams.*

Nothing that is said here can apply, even with the the most distant respect, to the real character of Jesus Christ. He was a virtuous and an amiable man.
—*"Age of Reason".*

The union of Morality and Peace is congenital but that of Religion and War is a paradox and the solution of it is hypocricy.—*"Age of Reason"*.

Certain I am that when opinions are free, either in matter of government or religion, truth will finally and powerfully prevail.—*"Age of Reason"*.

The most formidable weapon against errors of every kind is Reason. I have never used any other and I trust I never shall.—*"Age of Reason"*.

You will do me the justice to remember that I have always strenuously supported the right of every man to his opinion, however different that opinion might be to mine. He who denies to another this right makes a slave of himself to his present opinion, because he precludes himself the right of changing it.
—*"Age of Reason"*.

I believe in one God and no more, and I hope for happiness beyond this life—I believe in the equality of man, and I believe that religious duties consist of doing justice, loving mercy, and in endeavoring to make our fellow creatures happy.—*"Age of Reason"*.

When they found themselves unable to answer my arguments they assailed by character.
—*"Rights of Man"*.

When, in countries that are called civilized, we see age going to the workhouse, and youth to the gallows, something must be wrong in the system of government.—*"Rights of Man"*.

Such is the irresistible nature of truth that all it asks, and all it wants, is the liberty of appearing. The

sun needs no inscription to distinguish him from darkness.—*"Rights of Man"*.

The trade of governing has always been monopolized by the most ignorant and the most rascally individuals of mankind.—*"Rights of Man"*.

I love the man that can smile in trouble, that can gather strength from distress, and grow brave by reflection. 'Tis the business of little minds to shirk, but he whose heart is firm and whose conscience approves his conduct, will pursue his principles unto death.—*"Rights of Man"*.

It is a dangerous attempt in any government to say to a Nation, "Thou shalt not read".

—*Letters to the Addressers.*

If the present generation, or any other, are disposed to be slaves, it does not lessen the right of the succeeding generation to be free; wrong cannot have a legal descent.—*"Rights of Man"*.

Despotic government supports itself by abject civilization, in which debasement of the human mind, and wretchedness in the mass of the people, are the chief criterions.—*"Agrarian Justice"*.

An army of principles will penetrate where an army of soldiers cannot: it will succeed where diplomatic management would fail: it is neither the Rhine, the Channel, nor the ocean that can arrest its progress: it will march on the horizon of the world and it will conquer.—*"Agrarian Justice"*.

It is not charity but a right, not bounty but justice, that I am pleading for. The present state of civilization is as odious as it is unjust. It is absolutely the opposite of what it should be, and it is necessary that

a revolution should be made of it. The contrast of affluence and wretchedness continually meeting and offending the eye, is like dead and living bodies chained together. Though I care as little about riches as any man, I am a friend to riches as any man, I am a friend to riches because they are capable of good. I care not how affluent some may be provided that none be miserable in consequence of it.—*"Agrarian Justice"*.

These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis shrink from the service of his country; but he that stands it now deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the conflict the more glorious the triumph.
"Crisis I".

"Independence is my happiness, and I view things as they are, without regard to place or person; my country is the world, and my religion is to do good".
Letter to Camille Jordan.

And when the Almighty shall have blessed us and made us a people dependent only in him, then may our first gratitude be shown by an act of *continental* legislation, which shall put a stop to the importation of Negroes for sale, soften the hard fate of those already here, and in time procure their freedom.
—*"Common Sense"*.

Of more worth is one honest man to society, and in the eyes of God, than all the crowned ruffians that ever lived.—*"Common Sense"*.

As to religion, I hold it to be the indispensable duty of government to protect all conscientious professors thereof and I know of no other business which governments hath to do therewith.—*"Common Sense"*.

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The book treats the interests of mankind as relative. It therefore should appeal to the farmer, the industrialist, the day laborer, the business or professional man, the minister, the clerk and the student —in fact, to persons in all walks of life.

The author, a lawyer of the Indianapolis bar, is a native of the Middle West, having been born and reared in the hill country of southeastern Indiana, where he attended the common schools. He then entered and was graduated from Central Normal College (Danville, Ind.) with the degrees of B.S., A.B. and LL.B. Thereafter he was graduated from Indiana University, with the degree of LL.B. He practised his profession in Shelbyville, Indiana for six years, and was then appointed an assistant reporter of the Supreme Court of Indiana. In this capacity he assisted in the editing and publication of the reports of both courts of appeal for more than five years, necessitating the reading of opinions, the preparation of the syllabi and the careful indexing and verifying of legal authority. He was then appointed an Assistant Attorney General, which position he held for more than ten years (until January 1, 1933), under three Attorneys General of that State.

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And thus begins a new life for the little waif, for he is found and adopted by Beneiro, the chief of the native village, who believes the child is an answer to recent prayers to the village god, Tsara. The child is named Bantan, meaning white child of the sea of unknown parents. Since the Beneiro Island was isolated from the trade routes the years pass and little Bantan, denied the rightful heritage he was entitled to in America, proves his mettle among the natives. At seventeen he battles and kills Sista, the shark, with a stone dagger, and later spares his foster sister, Wanya, from the clutches of Oomba, the dreaded octopus. Because of these daring deeds, Bantan is respected greatly among the natives. By Wanya he is loved more deeply.

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